/48 cont'd/
585 designated. The two singers sang alternately. When they finished
[533] singing, the go-betweens returned to the small house /to join the bridegroom/. Then a humorous act was put on in the small house. It was called t'ao ch'ien-liang ("to collect land tax"). The act began with two persons representing the bride's family coming there to demand tobacco leaves. During this act, there was a very humorous and interesting dialogue. Prior to leaving the house, the two "tax collectors" sang a song outside the door.

After the humorous act was over, one of the go-betweens then carried the bridegroom on his back toward the bride's house. The order of the procession was the same as before. /49/ The bridegroom's party walked to the bride's house and stopped in front of the door of the side room where they were greeted by an usher from
[533] the bride's family. He greeted the bridegroom with a song. One of the go-betweens sang a song in reply. Between the bridegroom and the usher, there was a winnow in which were placed a wine pot and a wine cup. The usher then offered the wine to all the groom's party except the bridegroom. At this time, the young girls of the village again started making fun of the bridegroom, who stood still like a dummy. After singing and drinking, the go-betweens led the bridegroom to the central room of the bride's house. The interior decoration of this room was as follows: On the left side of the front door there was a censer and on the right side there were a pair of scissors and a sickle. In the center of the room, there was a big betel-nut shell with charcoal burning in it. Beside the betel-nut shell, there was a table on which a bottle of wine, two wine cups, two bowls of rice, and a bowl of cooked pork liver were set. When the bridegroom arrived at the door he stopped.

A man from the bride's family stood inside the door, holding the scissors and the sickle in his hand. Facing the bridegroom, he
[763] began to perform a ritual and to recite incantations. (It was said that this ceremony was to drive away the devils /from the body of the bridegroom/.) After that the bridegroom was invited into the room. Stepping over the charcoal, he passed in and was seated at the table. The two go-betweens and the umbrella carrier were

/70/

Chapter VIII. Songs and Legends

(1)

533 Singing is an important aspect of Miao life. Regardless of sex and age, almost all of them are talented singers. When we were traveling in the Miao mountains, the clear voices of Miao singers always struck our ears. In the deep woods of the high mountains with no one in sight, it usually gave us the poetic feeling that,

"The singing has ended; no one is in sight;
Only some mountain peaks remain green above the river."

831 152 533 Singing is the most natural medium of communication between human hearts. The Miao have made full use of it. When a man and woman fall in love, they sing to each other in order to express their mutual admiration. Inexpressibly happy at a reunion after a long separation, they sing to each other to express their happiness. Bidding farewell at a crossroad, they sing to express their sorrow at parting. Worn out during the busy seasons of agricultural work, they sing for physical relaxation. On festive occasions, they sing to add to the gaiety. In short, all their emotions—misery and happiness, grief and joy—are frankly expressed by singing.

533 Usually they sing their songs in dialogue style—such as between a man and a woman or between a host and a guest, etc. Due to long use, many of the songs have become formalized, so that the words of the replies are fixed. The ability to sing is very important in Miao social relations. For instance, their marriage is usually 584 based upon love. And singing is the principal means of courting.

533 /71/ On the fine spring days, Miao boys and girls usually go out in groups to sing to one another on the neighboring slopes. As the singers gradually draw closer, at this point, if you are a talented singer capable of answering your counterpart in the proper way, 533 victory will be yours. Otherwise, if the singing beauties move [571] away because of poor answers, how depressed you would feel! At a fine banquet, when the hosts and guests sing alternately to each other, the good singers are always admired by the audience while

/71 cont'd/
533 poor ones cannot help being laughed at. Singing is an indispensable talent for the Miao in their social relations.

(2)

Their songs differ according to locality, and in general can be divided into two groups in accordance with two different styles, i.e., the free songs without set words and songs with fixed words. Generally speaking, the love songs and other songs of pleasure or sorrow are mostly of the former group, and every singer is a spontaneous composer. They sing what they feel at the moment.

533 The formal songs, which are sung at wedding feasts, in re-
571 ligious ceremonies, or between hosts and guests, are of the latter group with fixed texts and are uniform throughout the Miao area. These are not natural outflows of feeling but rather songs of still formality. Everyone can recite these by heart without requirement of talent. The free songs, however, are more flexible; whether the song is good or poor depends upon the talent of the individual singer.

Because the free songs have no fixed texts and because of language difficulties, we did not record them, which is a pity. However, there were copies of the fixed songs in almost every Miao family, as they are taught from generation to generation. We had a chance to collect a few samples. But they were all stiffly formalized. Hence, as far as artistic value is concerned, they can hardly be compared with the free songs cited before which were natural expressions of feelings.

533 /72/ Every aspect of the Miao life is expressed in singing.
536 The contents of their songs are, therefore, complex, multi-faceted, and all-comprehensive. We did not succeed in acquiring many of these songs. We shall now attempt to classify here those we did get:

(1) Songs relating to economic life, such as those sung during certain ceremonies in the process of ploughing or harvesting:

/72 cont'd/

Bringing in the Crops Song

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Bringing our grain crops home,
Shen Nung and T'u-ti* are with us as we bring our crops home,

* Shen Nung was a legendary emperor
who is the supposed teacher of husbandry.
T'u-ti is a term for a local divinity.

Escorting us all the way home to their shelter.
Safely placed in the granaries, these crops will draw the envy
of the emperor.
Thank you,
Shen Nung and T'u-ti,
For escorting and protecting the crops all the way home.
When the emperor bestows his attention on us, we'll think of
you.
From the palace in the capital, a messenger will be sent us,
And much glittering gold will accompany him.
The tenure of a hsiu /title of government office/ is only three
years,
But riches and honor come to an official.
For all this we will be much indebted to you,
And your kindness will be borne in the mind of the emperor
forever.

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539 (2) Songs connected with social activities, such as the one cited in Chapter IV; "The Song of the Old Villager."

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539
831 (3) Songs related to love between the sexes. For example, when an unmarried man and woman happen to run into each other in the street, the following is frequently sung:

First admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
Show how you feel according to your heart's desire.
What you desire is seen by others,

/72 cont'd/

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539
831

Just as plainly as the sun on the east and the sky on the west.
/73/ Second admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
If one drinks as much as one wants at a feast,
People will say that like rowing a boat while ignoring the water—
Drinking as much as one wants is a waste.
Third admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
If you are willing, for 10,000 autumns,
We'll join hands together;
On the bridge over the tangling rivers, we'll walk side by side.
Fourth admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
If you find someone to join you at romantic eighteen;
You can live happily up to sixty.
Unhappy and middle-aged, that is a waste.
Sixth admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
When your brother comes here to stay for a while.
If he is against me, I will not please him even if I slaughter a dragon to treat him.
If he is agreeable, he will be pleased with a glass of cold water.
Seventh admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
If you hide a man in your room, that is a waste.
Moreover, I fear your man will be killed.
His life will be lost on T'ai-shan mountain and will never return.
Eighth admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
You should not loan your money too freely, if you are rich.
You should be satisfied and not press, even if you cannot get back your principal.
Otherwise, you will feel regretful if someone kills himself.
Ninth admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
When you are in possession of a cow and a piece of land,
You should not hesitate to consider the coming of spring.
When you have no cow you cannot get an early start, even if spring is here;

/73 cont'd/
533 And a home without a cow is lost.
539 Tenth admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
831 You should not stay idle when you see others learn to write;
/74/ Someday should you get involved in a lawsuit,
You'll know the difficulty of getting someone to write for you on a blank sheet of paper.
Eleventh admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
[161] Don't curse and utter foul words to your parents.
You are indebted to your parents for raising you.
Otherwise, your life will be lost on T'ai-shan mountain and will never return.
Twelfth admonition to you, my precious flower, in this world,
When the immortals come to fetch you to the king of the wheel,
You will be referred to the renowned king to receive judgment;
He may decided that you are to be reborn in your youth.

The following songs are frequently sung during such occasions as when a man and woman meet in a rendezvous, or when they bid each other farewell, feeling lost and sorrowful on seeing the loved one depart.

539 I. Seeing off my flower,
831 As the dark clouds see off the moon across the heart of the sky—
The dark clouds are escorting the moon, and in a little while will escort you,
Back to your melancholy land and melancholy home.
Farewell!

II. First farewell to my precious flower who will soon be returning home,
Like the clouds I see leaving the sky.
Looking at the clouds leaving the sky, how sad my humble heart is!
I am hiding my sadness at parting from my love.
Second farewell to my precious flower, from the dragon's noble land,

/86 cont'd/

539 When our masters plant grain,
585 May the crops multiply five-fold,
Rich grains growing to the tips,
Yielding crops enough for ten full granaries every year.
May our masters seek the road to wealth,
That when you reach the mountain, fish and meat will come.
May the mountain horses and jade deer on which you come
Climb with all four feet without faltering.
/87/ When our masters go fishing,
May big fish come from all directions,
And drop dead into your nets.
So that you may go home with a big catch in your hands.
May our masters' path go in ten directions:
May incense burn at the shrines every year.
May horses come from four directions for you to sit and ride.
May your sons grow up naturally wise and bright without a teacher.
May our masters seek the road to wealth,
So that when you just step out the door, you will meet riches.
When one meets great fortune at the door,
It is a sign that one will become an official.
May all the honorable stars now sitting before us
This year become wise officials,
And the fact become known throughout the world,
And your parents elegantly ride in goose-shaped sedans.
This year we judge this couple here to take their seats at the wedding ceremony.
Next year there will be another pair at the wedding feast.
Two judgments and two weddings match two couples.
Two couples will multiply so that two will become two by two.

533 The third and fourth songs of the above are sung by hosts and
585 guests, each taking the role of singing and answering. The hosts sing the song first (No. III above), and the guests answered with

/87 cont'd/

533 585 another song (No. IV above). It can be seen that the hosts' part mainly contains words expressing courtesy and humbleness. The [571] guests' part expresses praise, responding properly to the feelings of the former.

574 V. During ordinary social occasions, for example, when a guest 533 comes from a distant place to stay in the village, at night the villagers sing the following song to the guest:

539 A famous goose waits to judge Heaven and the Sun.
A dry space /?/ withers in a pool of water.
/88/ A distinguished chief of the Hall of Filial Piety has come to this village!
The capital has sent ten thousand government servants to assist.
The heavenly lord with his generals rises suddenly to judge Heaven and the Sun.
All the officials and stars have prepared to welcome you.
/One line omitted here because of obscurity of meaning./
The lamps have been lighted early in the village.
People have come down from Peking and the Emperor.
From all four sides, old and young have come here.
All the streets and houses have been ready for days,
Descending into the world is hard to do.
The weather is cold and wall tops are shattered by thunder,
Causing leaves to blow about in confusion.
We wish the middle of spring would arrive,
So that the bamboo trees would put out new leaves.

765 Another song is one sung at the end of the tso chai ceremony.
533 When the Taoist priests are about to leave, the host's wife sees them off by singing it.*

/* This song is not included here because omission of too many words in the original renders translation impossible.—Tr./

/88 cont'd/

533 We have copied a great many of the Miao songs above. These songs, because they have been made rigid through writing, have lost their original freshness and spontaneity. Moreover, the errors the Miao made in /89/ writing them out have rendered the songs sometimes almost unreadable. It is a great pity that the real charm and wit displayed in Miao songs cannot be appreciated from the pages here!

(3)

538 The moods conveyed to us by Miao songs, when they were sung,
152 were not those of loftiness and tragedy, but rather those of tenderness and delicate pathos. There are many breaks in the singing, but the tune during these breaks merely lengthens and weakens, the lingering sounds of the music not breaking off. Thus, it takes a
533 fairly long time to finish the singing of each song. Those songs which are sung as counterparts are started first by one in a group of persons. He stops at the end of the fourth line, and the opposite party will continue the singing with an answering part for another four lines. Then the first singer will pick up the singing again. In this manner, the singing is kept on with every four lines sung alternately by the two opposing parties. The form of Miao songs, as can be seen from the examples given above, is of two kinds: One kind has seven characters to a line. Most of the Miao songs are of this kind. The other kind has three-character lines alternating regularly with seven-character lines. Because of the difference in form, these two groups of songs are sung in different ways, which will be illustrated here. For example, in the singing of a song of
533 the first kind, take the following words:
539 "Jen hua tu ch'uan pu k'an shui, yin chiu t'an to yeh shih hsien."

/People will say that like rowing a boat while ignoring the water, drinking as much as one wants is a waste./ (Excerpt from a Miao song). They are sung in the following manner:

(The dash between the words indicates the lengthened, carried-over tones from the preceding words).

/89 cont'd/

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539

Jen hua /people say/ O hoy — ŭ Vĭt — tu ch'uan /rowing a boat/ — pu k'an /ignoring/ — clo shui /water/ — ā hā — hum — yin chiu /drinking/ — clà t'an /as one wants/ — to /much/ — yeh shih /is/ — hsien /waste/ — O hoy — ŭ Vĭt — hum — tu ch'uan — pu k'an — clà shui — tī hā — hum — yin chiu — t'an to O hoy — ŭ Vĭt — shih — hsien — yeh /particle of emphasis/ — shih — hsien — hā

/90/ Every two lines make up one unit in the song. Each unit is always sung as above, but a short pause is given between units.

Songs of the second kind are sung in the following two ways:

(a) Take the following words:

"Fen li le, yi szu tsai hou te hsiang feng." /Farewell, I am thinking that we shall meet again in the future./ They are sung in the following manner:

Fen li le /farewell/ — a hā — hum — yi szu /thinking/ — tsai /in the/ — hou /future/ — te /get to/ — hsiang /each other/ — feng /meet/ — hoy — ŭ Vĭt — hum — fen li clo — le tī hā — hum — yi szu — tsai hou O hoy — ŭ Vĭt — hsiang — feng — te — hsiang — feng — hā —

(b) Take the following words:

"Sung hua ch'ü, wu yün sung yüeh kuo t'ien hsin."
/Seeing off my flower, (as) the dark clouds see off the moon across the heart of the sky./

They are sung in the following manner:

Sung /see off/ — hua /flower/ clo — ch'ü /go/ ā hā — hum — wu /dark/ yün /clouds/ — sung /see off/ lo — yüeh (moon) — kuo /across/ — t'ien /sky/ — hsin /heart/ — hoy — sung hua clo — ch'ü tī O hā — hum — wu yün sung yüeh O hoy — ŭ Vĭt — t'ien hsin — kuo — t'ien hsin — hā —

/91/

533 Every two lines in this kind of song also constitute one unit. If seven-character lines follow in the sequence, singing will be done in the manner of singing songs composed of seven-character lines.

This is all that we know about the ways Miao songs are sung. If there are other ways of singing them, we are not aware of them at present.

(4)

538 The legends of the Miao may be divided into two classes: One comprises those which are indigenous, and the other comprises those which have been introduced from outside. This distinction is immediately apparent when we take a look at the contents of the legends. Moreover, the legends may be divided into two classes from the point of view of form: those which have the same form as the songs, and those which do not. The legends with the same form as the songs are either the texts of the civilian and military Taoist priests, or the various songs for social occasions. These are easily available, since they have been written down. As regards those legends which are not in song form, they have been handed down entirely through oral transmission, and collecting them is difficult.

Of those legends which are indigenous, the most interesting are the ones which explain the process of the creation of heaven and earth and the origin of their ancestors. Two of this kind will be recorded as follows:

539 773

(a) The Little Girl of Fu-chi Sings:

You, drummer, beat the drum of Yang-shou;
Beat the drum again and again.
Hark! The drum is turned to Yang —
The little girl of Fu-chi arrives at the center of the aerials:
Earlier you were at Fu-sang Temple.
The kung-ts'ao /"merit official"/ was ordered to send you an invitation.
At the invitation of your masters,
You rode on the royal horse and came to the site of the altar.

/100 cont'd/

539 Who (Emperor P'ing) proposed the use of go-betweens?
173 As for Emperor P'an ... how many daughters?
Then he beckoned /for marriage into his family/ what young men of how many (five) surnames?
The first daughter married what (Teng) surname?
The second daughter married what (Chiang) family's young man?
The third daughter married what (Chao) surname?
The fourth daughter married what (Li) family's young man?
The fifth daughter married what (The family register is unclear) surname?
In the world today what is the custom for union? (Marriage)
The first daughter took care of her father for how many years?
The second daughter took care of her father for how many springs?
The fifth daughter took care of her father for how many years?
In the world today how are parents cared for?
The fifth daughter respectfully cared for them
And her parents lived a long time for many springs.
Her kindness was exalted and endless.
The record even though unclear mentions this and tells us about it.
Emperor P'an in his lifetime lived how many (Five hundred) years?
Graciously added to his life were how many (Sixty) springs?
/101/ Talk of ancient days are endless;
Let's urge the dragon to go to the feast before us.

533 Because these historical legends are all rhymed songs made of
538 lines of seven words each, they are frequently sung: The first, (a),
173 is sung by the Taoist priests during the "tso chai" ceremony. The next two, (b) and (c), are sung at wedding feasts with groups of men and women as the opposing singing parties. Interestingly, the contents of these legends provide answers to questions related to the origin of mankind, such as the creation of heaven and earth, the calamity of

/101 cont'd/

533 the flood, the coming into existence of mankind, the life story of
538 P'an Ku /The Creator/, the evolutionary process of social systems,
173 and the origin of their ancestors, etc. Moreover, there is another interesting legend of the Miao which tells the story of their ancestors. This s not in song form. It is given here as follows:

539 Once upon a time there lived a certain wealthy man who had a
773 daughter. But the wealthy man's daughter was betrothed to an extremely poor family. When she was of marriageable age, she still was not yet married. It so happened that the daughter had a pet dog. She was so fond of her dog that she ate and slept with him. In time she had sexual relations with the dog and became pregnant. When her fiance's family became aware of this, they informed the authorities. The official investigated the case from many angles, but failed to identify the party who had wronged her. Eventually, the official's wife thought of a scheme. She took the daughter out of jail and took the girl to live with her in her own room. In the middle of night when the daughter was fast asleep, the official's wife opened up the girl's clothes and found marks of scratches by dog claws on her body. The whole mystery was thus unveiled. Thereupon the district official questioned the members of the girl's family. It was found that the girl actually had a pet dog. He then ordered that this dog be taken to be with the girl at the jail. Sure enough when night fell, the dog was actually found to scratch fiercely at the girl. The whole case was thus solved. When the fiance's family learned that the girl had had relations with the dog and had thus become pregnant, they cancelled the betrothal unconditionally. After being released from jail, the girl soon gave birth to a boy and a girl. Greatly disgraced by this scandal, the girl's parents ordered a carpenter to build a boat and loaded it with gold, silver, gems, and pearls. The daughter, dog, and the two children were driven into the boat and set afloat. The boat floated about and drifted to the city of Hui-chou, where it was caught and pulled to land by some people. Then the four of them settled in this city. The dog often went to the mountains to capture birds and animals to feed the two children. The children gradually grew up but still did not know

/135 cont'd/
554 baby who was held during the ceremony; and one as a military
793 priest, also very young. All these children were qualified to become Taoist priests after undergoing this baptismal rite and could perform the duties of priests when they reached manhood. In the evening these children practiced the dances of Taoist priests on the grass, their steps being accompanied by the sound of drums and gongs. The uniformity of their steps and the agility of their movements amazed me and made me think what a pity it was that these bright youngsters were being properly educated when they showed such unmistakable promise!

Second month, twenty-eighth day. (Sunday)

538 In the morning we copied many different Miao songs and legends, one of which depicted the story of a romance between Mr. Yan Hui and Miss Chang Chiu-niang. The way in which the story made fun of the saints and followers impressed me, but the origin of the story was untraceable and would be interesting to study further.

765 In the evening the tso-chai ceremony was completed. The military priests put on a last, short act, the t'iao kuei ("dancing demon"). One priest played the role of the demon with a mask on, /136/ which looked hideous. Hidden behind a screen, he was lured out by two boys disguised as girls. Seeing the "girls," the demon became wild and erected his penis, measuring some two or three ch'ih in length (made of a bundle of straw). Leaping wildly left and right, he chased after the "girls." It was an extremely obscene act.

Third month, first day. (Monday)

533 In the morning Headman Lu prepared a rich banquet at his home
527 for all the priests. The hostess appeared to express thanks to the priests one by one in words and songs. The priests, likewise, sang in their turn, creating an atmosphere of harmony and hospitality at the feast.

/137 cont'd/ The Miao who
533 was our guide began to sing love songs—his voice was so loud that the echoes shook the whole valley. The women ahead of us, though they glanced back, did not answer with songs, nor did they stop walking. We did not want to give up and caught up with them. At a closer look we saw two elderly women of around forty or fifty. They were acquainted with our guide and asked him where we were going, but he was so embarrassed that he flushed profusely and could not utter a word. We could not help laughing aloud at this sight.

Third month, third day. (Wednesday)

171 585 A niece of Headman Lu was to be married, and the villagers assembled in his house in the morning to select the auspicious day according to the t'ung shu /almanac/. It resembled that used by the Chinese, and the method they used for calculating the dates also was similar.

692 Yüan-chiung didn't feel well, and in the afternoon I accompanied him on a walk out of the village. We met a Miao on our way, who kept telling us how he had been cheated by a merchant at the Wen-hua trading center in a deal over edible tree fungus. He was overcome with indignation. But he said living high in the mountains, there was no place where he could lodge a complaint and seek redress. He had now decided to go to the Pao-t'ing district headquarters to lodge a complaint.

527 The chung jen chai took place tonight in the same bamboo shed where the tso chai was held the day before. Pictures of the gods were hung on the walls, and an incense burner was set up on the table. The set up was simple, and the priests did not bother to change their clothes. All they did was to chant incantations and perform their rituals.

/138/ A Miao whose nephew had been wronged by someone came to ask me to write a letter for him that he could send in order to deal with him. When I said I would, he thanked me and left.

M /19 cont./
*101 (4) Yeh T'ou Miao. — This group also belongs to the He
CC Miao. When a girl is married, she must marry the son of her
563 maternal uncle. If the latter has no son, he must be given
M presents of ornaments and money. Otherwise she may not
[582] get married at all.

(5) Tung Tsai Miao. — They are not as numerous as the Yeh T'ou Miao, and live in separate villages. The Yeh
M Tou villages are known as the Big Villages and the Tung Tsai
[628] ones as the Small Villages, the latter being subservient to the
[582] former. Marriage is restricted to their own villages. A secret
[502] marriage to a member of a big village is a violation. The Tung Tsai are good boatmen. In Mi-no these are such tribemen.

M (6) Pa Chai Miao. — This group is also a part of the He
[345] Miao. Near the village is provided an empty shed, where un-
[533] married men and women gather together to sing. If a couple
[517] fall in love, a cow is sent as a betrothal gift. One or two days
[584] after marriage the girl goes back home and still asks for money
[583] from her husband. If the money is not given she may marry again. In Ya-yu this custom still exists today.

/20/ (7) Ch'ien /Bamboo Grove/ Miao. — Another
M branch of the He Miao, there are many at Lieh-erh-shan.
[241] They live in dense bamboo groves on the mountain. They are
[262] not good at farming but grow some grain. They consider
[291] hempseed to be food and use hemp for their clothes.

[882] (8) Ch'ing Chiang He Miao /Ch'ing River Black Miao/. —
[527] The unmarried men are called "lohan" and the unmarried
[584] women, "laopei." In the spring they carry wine and food up the mountain, singing and dancing reciprocally. Those who become fond of each other drink from an ox horn and get married. After a son is born, they then say they have a descendant, and begin to be willing to work in the field.

[851] (9) Pe /White/ Miao. — They originated in Kwei-ting
[167] and Lung-li in Kweichow. They esteem white clothes, go
[291] bareheaded and barefooted, and coil up their hair with crude
[302] hairpins. A big bull is selected for the ancestral sacrifice.
[782]
[769]

/20 cont./ in the villages around Shang-shih-li. Men learn trades and women weave and embroider. Unmarried people often gather together for moon parties out in the open, at which men beat the monkey drums and women sing in accompaniment. It is said that over 600 of Ma San-pao's soldiers remained as husbands who lived in their wives families. Consequently, they are also called the Six Hundred Untamed Miao.

(14) Hsi-Ch'i Miao. — Formerly most of these lived in Chi-an-p'ing. The women's skirts do not cover the knees, and they wrap the legs with green cloth. Unmarried men and women have drinking parties in the open to find mates. After a son is born, a cow is given as a bridal gift /to the girl's family/.

(15) P'ing Fa Miao. — Originally they were from Kuei-ting hsien in Kweichow, and some of them also lived in P'ing-ch'a-szu in Szechwan. Today, many of this tribe are also found at Pai-liao. They like to kill dogs to make sacrifices to the spirits or to entertain guests. The men wear straw wraps and short skirts; the women wear long skirts and bind their hair into a knot.

/21/ (16) Tung Miao. — They originally came from Lung-li and Ch'ing-p'ing in Kweichow. Today, they are still numerous in the villages of Liu-li. The men wrap their heads with cotton prints and wear light-blue short garments. The women wear green embroidered cotton garments with very tight sleeves. Every mid-autumn festival they make sacrifices to their ancestors and dead clan members, and invite a sorcerer to their homes. They place food and wine on a wooden board, and calling out the spirits' names they dance and sing. (The spirits have such names as Pao-t'ung, Po-ch'a, Po-chi, etc.) What is commonly called "K'ou-ch'e seven maidens and the cursed spirits" in this sub-prefecture are both remains of this custom.

(17) Hua /Flower/ Miao. — In Ya-yu and Ya-pao there are many of this tribe. The clothes they wear are first covered with designs in wax, and then dyed. After the dyeing, the wax is washed out and the designs appear.

/93 cont./
551 adopted their ways. Among the Shih /"rock"/ and Lung /"dragon"/ there are the Ta /"big"/ Shih and Shao /"small"/ Shih, the Ta Lung and Shao Lung. Shao Shih is also written with the character shih meaning "time," and Shao Lung, also with the character lung meaning "eminent." Although they 582 have surnames, they do not have a closely knit organization [614] of family clans, and so formerly they did not object to marriage between people of the same surname. However, no marriage [177] was permitted between close relatives. In recent years they have come under Chinese influence, and know that people of [551] the same surnames must not marry. Shao Shih /"small rock"/ was changed to be written with the character shih meaning "time," and Shao Lung /"small dragon"/ was changed to be written with the character lung meaning "eminent," in order to separate them from Ta Shih /"big rock"/ and Ta Lung /"big dragon"/, so that they could intermarry. Today, Miao family 177 life has become more and more like that of the Chinese, and 594 marriage and funeral rites largely follow Chinese customs, 764 barely retaining remnants of some Miao customs.

(2) Marriage

836 /94/ Among the Miao the premarital sex life of the young men and women is rather free. When a virgin has intercourse with a man, her parents know about it but do not forbid it. On the contrary, they consider this evidence that the man finds their daughter desirable. Sometimes, the girl brings home her lover, and her parents will kill a chicken to entertain him. [345] There are even public houses set up specially for the use of young men and women to gather together. For instance, in Chapter II reference was made to the Pa Chai Miao, recorded in Yung-sui T'ing Chih, to the effect that an empty shed was built near the village, where unmarried men and women gathered [584] together to sing. If a couple fell in love, a cow was sent as a [517] betrothal gift. Again, the unmarried men among the Ch'ing [533] Chiang He Miao were called "lohan"; in the spring they would

/94 cont./

836 carry wine and food up the mountain, singing and dancing re-
517 ciprocally. Those who became fond of each other would drink
[533] from an ox horn. There is the custom among the Miao of
[535] dancing for the new year, dancing for the moon, and singing for autumn. On such occasions, young men and women form groups and sing in response to each other all night until daybreak. After singing they mix with each other, drinking and joking, even to the extent of having sexual relations. This is called fang yeh "going wild."

582 Although unmarried men and women are free to fall in love,
[584] marriage, however, requires parental consent as well as the approval of the maternal uncle of the girl. The He Miao of Ch'ing Chiang, Kweichow have a marriage custom where they betroth the daughter of a paternal aunt to be the daughter-in-law of a maternal uncle. Should the maternal uncle have no son, the girl's family has to pay a large sum of money to him. Without such a payment the girl all her life may not marry. The Miao, other than close paternal cousins not being suitable mates, they do not object to marriage between people of the same surname. However, maternal cousins may not marry.
582 This is a survival from a matrilineal society, because in a
611 matrilineal society maternal cousins have the same surname whereas cross cousins or male and female first cousins on the father's side have different surnames. That maternal cousins cannot marry is evidence of their advance from a matrilineal society to a patrilineal society. The importance of the maternal uncle's position in sacrificial ceremonies as well as in the society is additional evidence.

584 The former marriage customs of the Miao were slightly
583 different from their present ways. Yung-sui T'ing Chih says: "Miao marriage is just like a purchase. They do not follow the /Chinese/ custom of asking names (as a preliminary to fixing a betrothal) and sending presents to the bride's home to fix the betrothal. They only negotiate about the number of horses and cattle through a broker. The broker is a Miao marriage go-between. It definitely requires five or six horses or heads
008 of cattle to initiate a trade for one wife. When the agreement

/97 cont./

585 She is kept company by those who escorted her here. The brothers of the bride set the bridal chamber in order, and the groom's family gives them one or two strings of cash, a piece of meat, and two cups of wine. First half of the wine is spilled on the floor and the rest is drunk up, but the meat is all consumed. After these things have been done, the wedding feast [574] begins. The dishes include beef, pork, bean-starch vermicelli, [262] bean curd fried in oil, greens, etc. After the meal, the singing begins. Men and women guests gather in a group while 533 men and women of the host family gather in another group. 585 First the host of the groom's family begins to sing, (singing one of the "Welcoming the Bride Songs," see the chapter, "Folk Songs," no. 3). If the opposite side does not take up the singing, they use all means to encourage them. The phrases sung generally consist first of polite exchanges. In addition they sing legends, do Chinese characters, make riddles, and praise each other, etc. In the singing there is winning and losing: for instance, if A 's singing says B is polite, and B is not able to answer, saying he is not polite, then B is reckoned the loser; or if B sings that he himself is ignorant of etiquette, and A fails to sing back of his skill in etiquette, then B is the winner. Again, if A sings the name of a personage of antiquity whom B does not know, or if A offers a riddle which B fails to solve — these would be reckoned losing counts for B. The loser can no longer participate in the singing, and if a whole group fails to sing back the answer to the opposite side, then the whole group loses out. Experts in singing can match songs back and forth all night to a draw. /98/ In the middle of the [264] night they eat mi-pa /rice cakes/ as refreshments. In the singing the women keep things going, for they bring up subjects to be answered by the men. Ordinarily men are easily defeated, because women lose only when they can pick no more subjects for the men to answer. Sometimes the singing lasts for three nights, but usually one or two nights (see chapter, on "Folk Songs," nos. four to 13, "Welcoming the Bride Songs," and nos. 14 to 18, "Songs Sung in Company"). The guests remain

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/98 cont./

574 for three days, the same as at the time of "sticking in incense."
575 They are also entertained in rotation by the closest relatives of the host. After breakfast on the third day a large table is set
583 up in the main room. Eloquent elder men and women of the
585 two families are invited to sit down around the table to count and announce the number of presents from the bride's family. First, the suit, shoes, and hat from the bride's parents to the son-in-law are announced, next the material for trousers from the guests to the groom, and then the presents from the bride's family to the elders of the groom's family. Then they record the cash and articles presented by the groom's family in return to the bride's family. For instance, if the dowry from the girl's family was 80 strings of cash, the groom's family returns
[554] 50. In a family of wealth, this money is usually left with the bride and not taken back. The guests who presented trousers receive one or two strings of cash in return. The bridesmaids also receive one or two strings of cash. The bride's family receives a pig's leg, and the go-between gets a pig's head.
[533] While the presents are being announced, the men and women sitting around the table talk and sing, in response to each other. (See Chapter 11, "Folk Songs," songs no. 19, 20, 21, and 22, "Seeing the Guests off on the Third Morning.) During these
585 three days the bride and groom do not share the same room. When the bride's family is escorted back, the bride goes along and stays for one or three days before she comes back to her new home to share the room with the groom.

586 Divorces are very easy with the Miao. The lack of good looks, a difference in wealth between the families, incompatibility, lack of good behavior — any of these constitutes grounds for divorce. Either side may initiate a divorce action. The children of a divorced couple are generally kept by the man, but an unweaned baby is kept by the woman to be restored to the man when it grows up. If the man's family is destitute, the children are kept by the woman's family. After the divorce
587 either side may remarry at will.

/141 cont./

*782 also must provide a sharp spear and a large creeper. The spear is used to stab the ox, and the creeper, to tie its head.

/142/ The Bludgeoning the Ox sacrifice to the kuei is the most lavish affair of the Miao. In addition to the water buffalo, the host also has to buy a common ox, two pigs, two chickens, and incense and paper, firecrackers, sweet wine, and sour fish. The relatives all have to send gifts.

[178] Formerly the Miao Bludgeoning-the-Buffalo sacrifice to the kuei lasted for five days, but now it lasts only three days. The first day is to honor the guests. That morning the "leg-bearing" relatives arrive in formation. As they approach the host's [788] house they set off firecrackers and play music. The host comes out to welcome them by burning incense and paper before them and kowtowing three times. The Miao consider that the water buffalo kuei comes with the mother's brother. By the time the lamps are lit in the evening, most of the guests invited have arrived; and after supper men and women guests begin to sing [533] [535] songs (see the chapter "Folk Songs," songs Nos. 29 and 30, "Eating Ox Song," and songs 33, 34, and 35, called "Beating the Flower Drum Song" /not translated/) and dance drum dances. The Chinese call the Miao drum dances "beating monkey drums." (See "Drum Dances and Amusements.") The host first starts the drumming, followed by the "leg-bearing" relatives, then by other guests according to the degree of relationship with the host, and last by the helpers. At the same time the sorcerer-priest begins his performance, using two large tables put together in the main house to make a long table, on which are then spread rice husks, on which are placed wine bowls, meat bowls, an iron tripod holding a tin can, and an upper millstone. The table is surrounded on all four sides with a number of plank benches. The sorcerer-priest and four "leg-bearing" relatives properly dressed in full [292] dress, and sometimes they wear spirit robes /shen p'ao/. The sorcerer-priest sits in the middle and the four men sit next. Those who blow trumpets and beat drums and gongs sit below. The sorcerer-priest, ringing a hand bell with his right hand and holding a chiao-tzu in his left hand, begins uttering an incantation.

/185 cont./

*787 *[787] to utter the chien-ling, chiao-na, kou-hsiao, t'ui-hsia, and shou-ling incantations. For each of these incantations the sheng chiao is sought, but for kou-hsiao the yin chiao will do. After the incantations are over, the gong and drum are sounded and the horn is blown. Then the horn is placed in the crook of both arms (as in the rituals for seeking a son and wheeling in money). The helpers burn the paper money, and the sorcerer does the three-step walk, simultaneously uttering the wheeling in money incantation. After a passage he turns toward the door, blows the horn once, and continues to recite another passage. He then turns toward the inside, blows the horn, and chants again, and again blows the horn. After the incantation is over, the sorcerer takes a rest. The helpers and the host and his relatives eat supper together, /186/ which is known as Hsia Ma Fan /the meal taken after dismounting from a horse/.

*782 ● 533 The thirteenth part is the singing of the No song. The sorcerer-priest in his red headkerchief sits in front of the Peach Spring cave, while assembled friends and relatives of the host also sit in a circle in front of the cave. First the sorcerer begins to sing the No song, followed by each of the friends and relatives in turn, and then all in unison. There is no fixed length to the verses nor a fixed number of singers. The singing goes on until no one continues it, when they consider it ended. The texts of the verses cover a wide area. In addition to the verses telling of the No shen's virtues and requesting good fortune, and those for driving away misfortune, calamities, and difficulties, there are the "Song of the Origin of the No Shen" and the "Song of Duke No and Mother No," relating the story of the origin of the No shen. (See the chapter, "Folk Tales," 1. The Myth about the Flood /not translated/.) The Miao think that [773] [776] Duke No and Mother No were brother and younger sister and that the Miao today are the descendants from the marriage between these two. (1) In addition they also sing and perform

[113]

1. See Ruey Yih-fu: Miao Tsu Hung Shui Ku Shih yü Fu Hsi Nü [of the Huan No Yüan ceremony - ANALYST]

*782 ●533 [143]

/186 cont./

Wa te Ch'uan Shuo /The Story of the Flood among the Miao and the Legend of Fu Hsi and Nü Wa/, in Jen-lui Hsüeh Chi K'an /Anthropological Review/, Vol. 1, No. 1.

the play, "Meng Chiang Nü," and the friends and relatives who come to see it toss out cash as "praising the song money."

*782 789 The fourteenth part is checking in the troops. (This part of the ritual is performed only when the host desires to drive away evil influences, otherwise it may be omitted.) Rice straw is spread before the Peach Spring cave, and on it is laid a fine bamboo mat. The sorcerer, with his head wrapped with a red kerchief and holding two spears, stands on the mat and does the three-step walk. A helper picks up the colter of a plow and puts it in the fire until it is red. The sorcerer sings, swinging the spears. He first checks the troops in the five directions, east, south, west, north, and center. For the east, north, and center he faces the inside of the house, whereas for the south and north /sic/ he faces outward. Next he checks the names of the 12 piao /body of troops/ leaders, and then the soldiers of the 12 months. After this checking, holding the two spears in his left hand and taking the chiao-tzu in his right hand, he divines. If the yin chiao appears, it is considered that Duke No has mounted his horse; the yang chiao indicates that Mother No has entered the sedan chair; the sheng chiao shows that all the other shen have mounted their horses. When the divination shows that all the shen have mounted their horses, the gong and drum are struck, the sorcerer priest blows his horn and grasps the spears, which have been in his left hand, separately and waves them to the left and right, does the three-step walk, and at the same time utters the hua-piao /"transforming the spears"/ incantation. After one passage, he goes

*[787]

[of the Huan No Yüan ceremony - ANALYST]

/187 cont./
*782 grains will be abundant and resources will increase, and last he seeks the expulsion of the five pestilences, the hundred kuei, bandits, thieves, and all kinds of strange phenomena. After this, he inverts the two chiao-tzu on the tablet. Next he
*782 utters the incantation about the origin of the chiao-tzu. He says
*787 that the chiao-tzu originally were three persons: the yin chiao
773 had the surname Hsiao, the yang chiao, Kuo, and the sheng chiao, Tu. All three received offerings from humans at the place of the No Shen. When the incantation is finished, he
*982 picks up the willow towel and rises together with the host. The helpers gather up the bedding and the rice straw.

/188/ The sixteenth part is K'ai Tung /"opening the cave"/. The sorcerer, with the red headkerchief and holding two hsien-feng banners in his hands, does the three-step walk at the front of the main hall and sings the magic K'ai Tung words, asking
[776] the shen of the drama to emerge from the cave. After the singing, the gong and drum are struck, and the ritual terminates.

The seventeenth part is Pan Hsien Feng /"impersonating
[292] fairies"/. The sorcerer wears women's clothes and head ornaments to disguise himself as a woman and holds a hsien-feng banner or a fan. (If there are more than two pigs and two goats in the host's house, two females are impersonated.) The sorcerer-priest walks before the Peach Spring cave in a semicircle, singing out first the reasons why he has come to the No hall. Then he continues to sing about what he has seen in the hall, and asks to see the host to say some words of good luck. Then he sings to tell about the origin of hsien-feng. Finally, he bids the shen farewell. He accompanies the singing with movements of his hands and feet. After each passage of the singing, the gong and drum are sounded a few times and he moves several steps.

The eighteenth part is Pan Sung Tzu /"performing the handing over of a son"/. A square table is set up before the Peach Spring cave. The sorcerer-priest in the apparel for the
[292] Pan Hsien Feng, stands on the table, holding the image of the
[533] No child in his hand, and sings the song of farewell of the

/188 cont./

#782 heavenly shen coming down to earth. After this, he jumps [533] down from the table and sings out what he has seen in the No hall. He then asks to see the host to say some words of good luck. After singing a passage, he strikes the gong and drum several times, walks a few steps, and then conveys the No child into the embrace of the host, and continues singing about the origin of the fairy sister. After the singing, the host puts down the image of the No child on the bed, and the caretaker of the altar burns paper money. Then the farewell incantation to the shen is sung, after which the gong and the drum are struck and the ritual terminates.

The nineteenth part is Pan K'ai-shan /"impersonating Kai-shan"/. The sorcerer-priest wears a red headkerchief and [532] a K'ai-shan mask, which has red whiskers and heavy eyebrows. Holding a wooden axe in his hand, he walks before the Peach Spring cave in a semicircle, dancing with hands and feet. First he sings about what he has seen en route to the No hall; then he sings about what he has seen in the No hall. Next he asks to see the host to sing a passage of lucky words, after which he begins a conversation with the host, performing at the same [529] time. The conversation has no definite subject but is full of humor.

The twentieth part is Pan Suan-chiang /"impersonating Suan-chiang"/. The sorcerer with his head wrapped with a red kerchief and holding a cane and a spear, walks before the Peach Spring cave in a semicircle, while singing out the reasons for his going to the No hall and what he saw there. He asks to see the host and sings a passage of auspicious words and has a conversation with him, at the same time performing. After this the host withdraws. Another person dressed as K'ai-shan /name of a general/ engages in a conversation with Suan-chiang /also a general/, and performs. After this, they engage in a duel. K'ai-shan wins and Suan-chiang loses. But K'ai-shan withdraws first. Suan-chiang sings the farewell incantation to the shen, and the ritual ends.

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*535

1. The Drumstick Dance

(1) The Combing-the-Hair Dance (Illus. 85)

Both men and women dance. A man's steps: Facing the drum, he beats it with his right hand, the drum beat being tung, tung — tung, tung, tung — tung. His body faces left, the toes of his right foot face the drum, his left foot is in the same direction as his body. The two feet are about 30 centimeters /kung fen/ apart, the right leg slightly bending. His left hand goes around the head twice as if combing the hair. The second time the hand is raised ready for combing again, and at the same time the left foot is on tiptoe, with the heel raised high. The left and right alternate in beating, there being no set number of times. /Illus. 80-88, pp. 207-12/ /213/

[533]

A woman's steps: Facing the drum, she beats it with her right hand, the drum beat also being tung, tung — tung, tung, tung — tung. With her body facing the drum, her two feet stretch out alternately to the beat of the drum. Her left hand goes across the right breast and around the head twice as if combing the hair. The left and right hands alternately beat, also without a set number of times, depending upon the endurance of the dancer. Afterward the tempo of the drum beating increases in short staccato beats, and her two feet leaping back and forth, each time she performs the hair-combing gesture once. To the accompaniment of fast beating, as the right hand beats the drum, the left foot stretches forth and the left hand combs the hair. Then the left hand beats the drum, and the right foot stretches forth and the right hand combs the hair in turn.

[533]

(2) Inserting-a-Flower Dance (Illus. 86)

Men and women both dance this. A man's steps: He beats the drum with his right hand, the drum beat being tung, tung — tung. Both the face and the body face left, the feet being

[533]

[text continues on p325]

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*535 about 50 centimeters apart. He holds the drumstick in his left hand as the flower. First he acts as if he were picking a flower from the ground, then inserts it into his hair, left and right alternating.

A woman's steps: She beats the drum with her right hand, the body halfway to the left and the two feet about 20 centimeters apart, like the "at ease" in military drill. When the right hand beats the drum, the left hand holds the lower part of the drumstick, first making the gesture of picking a flower from the earth and then sticking it into the hair.

(3) The Sword-Carrying Dance (Illus. 87)

[533] This dance is limited to men. The right hand beats the drum, the drum beat being tung, tung — tung. Both the face and body face left, the two feet apart as in the Inserting-Flower dance. The left hand goes around the waist in a great circle and closes tight against the back. The left and right hands perform alternately.

(4) The Flying-Bird Dance (Illus. 88)

This dance is limited to men. First the right hand beats the drum, the body faces left, the two feet being about 65 centimeters apart, with the toes of both feet pointing left. The left hand grasps the middle of the drumstick, the arm stretches straight, and bends forward and backward, with half of the body swaying in the gesture of opening up wings to fly. Left and right sides perform alternately.

(5) The Picking-the-Ear Dance (Illus. 89)

/214/ This is danced by both men and women. A man's steps: First the right hand beats the drum, with the body facing somewhat to the left, the two feet about 30 centimeters apart, the toes of the right foot pointing toward the drum and the toes

/214 cont./

*535 a few times the two feet continue to change position, crossing each other. When the left foot is crossing over the right foot he beats the drum with both hands from the left to the right. When the right foot is crossing over the left foot, the two drumsticks come down from the right to the left. Both hands bend in a triangle. When the left hand is on top and the right hand is at the bottom, the right hand hits the drum first, and [533] the left hand follows. The drum beats tung — tung, two beats. At the same time the right leg bends forward. Left and right alternate.

A woman dances by beating the drum with the right hand, the body facing the drum. The two feet are about 28 centimeters apart, the right foot pointing forward, the left foot slanting to the left, the heel raised. The left arm bends slightly above the shoulder and drops backward in the gesture of a butterfly flying. The beating of the drum with the right hand and the movements of the left foot and left hand must all be synchronized. In alternate turns the two feet step forth. When the dancer faces the drum, it is called ch'ien hua /forward flower/, and when the back is to the drum, /Illus. 89-92 on pp. 215-16/ /217/ it is called the hou hua /backward flower/. When the face is toward the left or right, it is called the "left flower" and the "right flower" respectively.

(8) The Round-Hand Drum Dance (Illus. 93, 94)

Both men and women may do this dance. A man dances by beating the drum with his right hand, his two feet about 70 centimeters apart. It may be divided into two kinds: the small round-hand dance and the large round-hand dance. In the small round-hand drum dance the dancer faces the drum, his two feet pointing together in the form of an arrow, the left hand bent and raised to head level, the wrist turning in a small circle; left and right alternate in this. In the large round-hand dance the dancer also faces the drum, the two feet standing parallel. The hand is straight out and then is revolved

[text continues on p330]

/217 cont./

*535 from the shoulder to form a large circle. When the hand reaches head level, the face turns outward.

A woman dances in the same way as a man, except that the arm turns in a circle and that is all.

(9) Monkey Dance (Illus. 95)

The rhythm of this dance is very fast; both men and women dance it. A man dances by beating the drum with the right [533] hand, tung, tung — tung, face toward the drum, left and right hands beating in turn. The two feet are about 38 centimeters apart parallel to each other. After beating several times, the dancer closes up the feet to form an arrow. The left and right hands each beats tung, tung — tung two times. Then he turns his body about but without moving his feet. The left hand beats the drum, tung, tung — tung, he turns and once more sounds three beats. After turning like this several times, the [533] two drumsticks make seven drumbeats, tung, tung, tung, tung, tung, tung, — tung, and turning and striking seven drumbeats, he continues turning, the faster the better.

A woman dances by squatting down on both feet; she begins to beat the drum first with the right hand, then left and right beat continuously. After beating several times, she turns her body left with her back facing the drum, the right hand continuing beating the drum. The left hand also beats backward, alternating with the right hand. She turns to the left and the right, the faster the better.

(10) The Drawing-Out-a-Fire-Pot Dance (Illus. 96)

This dance is limited to men. The drum is beaten with the right hand; the two feet are about 50 centimeters apart, forming an arrow. The distance between the two feet, however, depends upon the height of the drum; the higher the drum the closer the feet, the lower the drum the farther apart the feet. The left hand bends first forward then back in the gesture

/217 cont./

*535 of drawing out a feng-lu /a small, portable fire pot/. After a few times, the left and right hands and the left and right feet dance alternately. /Illus. 93-96 appear on pp. 218-19./

/220/ (11) The Forging-Iron Dance (Illus. 97)

Limited to men, this dance is performed by pointing the two feet in the form of an arrow with the toes facing forward, sometimes with the heels raised. The body of the dancer faces the drum, both hands first thrust backward, and when they swing forward they beat the drum.

(12) The Turning-a-Mill Dance (Illus. 98)

This is a men's dance. Both feet also are in the form of an arrow and about 60 centimeters apart, the heels raised. The right hand beats the drum first, tung, tung, — tung, twice, the left hand flings in a circle and then beats the drum, also [533] tung, tung, — tung. Then both hands descend on the drum at the same time, beating rapidly, producing tung — tung drumbeats, in the gesture of turning a mill. There is also the turning-a-small-mill dance. The feet, about 40 cm. apart, also form an arrow. The right hand beats the drum and the left hand circles before the drum in the gesture of turning a mill. Sometimes a woman also performs this turning-a-mill dance, but this is rarely seen.

(13) The Pulling-a-Beard Dance (Illus. 99)

This dance is limited to men. Body forward, the dancer has his feet parallel about 30 centimeters apart. His right hand beats the drum and his left hand, grasping a drumstick, is raised to the mouth with the thumb up to make the gesture of pulling on a beard; then the left hand stretches left in the gesture of straightening out the beard. The left and the right hand alternate in this act.

[text continues on p334]

/229 cont./

*535 (4) The Dog-Going-Through-a-Hole Dance (Illus. 112)

This dance follows immediately after the Lion-Chasing-a-Ball Dance. When beating the drum facing left, the right foot goes back a short step, the left hand beats the drum, the right hand goes under the right leg and beats, the left hand beats, the right hand beats, and again the left hand beats, the right hand going under the left leg to beat, the left hand beats. Turning the body around, the dancer beats the drum with the right hand, then with the left hand, and again with the right hand, the left hand goes under the right leg to beat the drum, the right hand beats, then the left hand, and again the right, the left hand goes under the left leg and beats, the right hand beats, then the left hand. The beating is continuous, the faster the better. /Illus. 109-14, on pp. 230-32./

/233/ (5) The Riding-a-Horse Dance (Illus. 113)

The dancer faces the drum with his two feet parallel, slightly squatting. The left hand beats the drum, the right hand, going under the right leg, beats, the left hand beats the drum, then the right hand beats, and the left hand, going under the left leg, beats, the right hand beats, then the left hand beats, and the right hand, going under the right leg, beats.

(6) The Fierce-Tiger-Sitting-in-a-Hall Dance (Illus. 114)

The dancer faces the drum, the body half turned to the left. [533] The right hand beats the drum six times, tung, tung, tung, tung, tung, tung, the left arm bent to the level of the left shoulder, the two feet parallel to each other. Then the left foot goes back one step, forming a right angle, the right foot goes back, then the left foot comes forward, still forming a right angle; the left hand beats the drum, the right arm bent to the level of the right shoulder.

[text continues on p 349]

/233 cont./

*535 (7) The Fierce-Tiger-Descending-the-Hill Dance (Illus. 115)

The dancer crosses his right foot in front of his left foot, the left foot drawing back to form the shape of a large arrow. [533] At the same time the right hand beats the drum, tung, tung, — tung, tung, tung, tung, tung, tung. When the shape of an arrow is formed with the feet, the right hand beats the drum once, then the left hand once, and then both hands beat in unison.

(8) The Ta-Pa-Pa Dance (Illus. 116)

The dancer faces the drum with his body facing slightly left. The two feet face a bit to the left and are separated, making the character pa /"eight"; it is fan-shaped/, about 25 centimeters apart. The fist is not clenched. First the drum [533] is beaten with the back of the right hand, tung, tung, — tung, two times; then it is beaten tung, tung — tung, tung — tung, tung— tung, tung — tung. The body slightly bent in a hunched posture, the dancer beats with the left and right hands alternating. This dance is done by both men and women.

(II) Amusements

517 The Miao live in the midst of mountains, in a monotonous environment, going out to work daily, and daily going in to sleep. In their leisure hours they indulge in all kinds of amusements to pass the time.

857 There are many kinds of games for children, such as cat catch the rat, blind man make an arrest, old tiger bite the goat, go through the dragon /Illus. 115-16, p. 234/ /235/ gate, catch the sparrow, beat the snail, and kick the shuttlecock, all more or less similar to the games played by Chinese [177] children. Probably they were introduced by the Chinese. We shall describe only a few which are relatively unique as below.

[text continues on P351]

/235 cont./
857 is smeared on it. After a number of days it is washed away,
304 revealing the tattooed design, the color of which remains permanently.

517 The adult amusements of the Miao, such as shaking the
526 dragon lantern, shaking the lion, boxing, and tilting are the
[177] same as those of the Chinese /Illus. 117-20, pp. 236-38/,
[411] /239/ and probably were introduced by the latter. But one kind of their tilting, in which a weapon called tz'u-ch'a /"stabbing prong"/ (Illus. 119), is used, is not often seen. According to Miao legend, this is a weapon for stabbing tigers.

(4) Swings

526 Among the Miao there is a swing game, which is quite
[527] interesting. On farm holidays when there are fairs or during the New Year festival, they put up frameworks for swings on a vacant lot. Each framework supports two swings, and every swing has four compartments, each fastened with ropes and a board. Each swing seats four men or women, going around with the wheel (Illus. 120). Men and women sing back and
[533] forth as they swing along (see chapter, "Folk Songs" /not translated/). The following song is about the origin of the
539 swing:
773
526

Songs and singing are as old as time,
Found in all books everywhere.
A son of a unicorn was born in the
Sung dynasty.
The young man with a clever mind sought
a mate.

He searched for a beauty but was
ashamed of his own ugliness.
He loved beauty but beauty was
hard to meet.
He asked someone for a plan.
And was told to make a swing for people
to enjoy.

[text continues on p 356]

883 836 It might have been of the sort that existed in An-lung Hsien. There between the time of her betrothal and her marriage, which were arranged by the two families, a Miao girl would, without letting her family know, very often have relations with a young man of her own choosing, and bear him a child. I was told that often a husband would not acknowledge the first child, even if it were a son, and that when family property was divided this child would receive no share. The mother, however, usually managed to get money for her love child, so that he might not be without inheritance. From the similarity of the songs sung in the two places, I suspected that the same thing went on in a Cowrie Shell Miao village. Here are translations of the two songs. The one from An-lung was definitely an invitation from a young man for sexual intercourse. Some girls were more forward and grasping than others. I noticed that Mo-mei managed matters so that she and the girls she favored got most of the attention.

883 836 539

THE AN-LUNG MIAO SONG

For a long time I have been coming here.
The cool water here produces cool melons.
If one opens the melon he may drink cool water.
If you will not be my sweetheart, I shall not come again.

THE COWRIE SHELL MIAO SONG

On the top of the high mountain is planted a red flower.
Younger sister (I) cannot hope that older brother (you) will come.
Older brother (you) has ten years moved the flower;
In ten places there has been communication, in nine places complete.
The road is long, the *ma ts'ao* is red.

883 535 533 Now and then on clear, moonlit nights the young men of the village brought out their *lu sheng* and the girls danced. Otherwise one heard the *lu sheng* only when they were practising the rhythm and tunes — usually of an evening after work — at a bullfight, when the young people were together in a village after a bullfight or a wedding, and at a funeral. Then the dancing, accompanied by drum and *lu sheng*, went on from dusk till dawn for as many as four successive nights.

534 The *lu sheng* was made of wood, and was also called the *liu sheng* because it had six

[50a]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

534 pipes. These were of different lengths and fitted into the upper surface of a box longer than wide, which had a mouthpiece at the other end from the pipes. The player held the box in both hands and swayed as he played, with much vigor. The pitch of the *lu sheng* varied with the length of the pipes, some being high and flutelike, others deep and like an organ. The name has been translated "six-reed organ." All the young people liked to sing and had sweet, natural voices.

533 534 584 They also made tunes on leaves and were said to be able to send messages in this way. Among other Miao this was courting music, accompanied by words. It seemed to be so here. I was told that during the time a wedding party was in the groom's village they spent the night singing songs. I heard them do so when they were together on the night after a bullfight. Children were taught songs as babies and I once came upon little ones in the wood, sitting on a fallen log with bowed heads in their hands, as they sang the lament. When they saw me they laughed and stopped. One of the shamanesses knew many songs.

584 **Betrothal.** Miss Li said that the arrangements for betrothal were initiated through a middleman and that two of exactly the same surname might not marry. Of the weddings which took place while I was in contact with them the ages of the principals were as follows: boy thirteen, girl twelve; boy fourteen, girl thirteen; boy sixteen, girl twenty; boy and girl both eighteen. In each case they had been betrothed some years before, which would indicate that arrangements were made by the parents, though the young people probably were acquainted.

585 **Wedding** (fig. 20, *c*, *e*). Weddings were set for any part of the leisure season, from the tenth to the second lunar months. On the day before the lucky day chosen for the wedding the man's family sent two or three young men to receive the bride. In the two cases of girls from our village, the groom himself was one of these. They stayed all night in the bride's village and returned to his village next day, accompanied by the bride and her attendants, men bearing gifts of food, men bearing the girls' more ordinary clothing, and once a boy of about the same age as the groom from the bride's village.

796 252 [124] 527 breakfast much like the feast of the night before, but there was no soup. First pieces of pork were cooked in the bowl over the fire, then other things in turn. I sat until noon with the old man and his second wife and found them very ready to answer questions about family history. The conversation led into that channel in an interesting way. The old man had been reading about Roosevelt in the newspaper and asked me questions, being most desirous of knowing whether there were many people named Lo in the United States. (The Chinese call Roosevelt "Lo Ssu-fu" and he thought Ssu-fu was his given name and Lo his surname.) I explained, and said that Roosevelt was a Dutch name, that Roosevelt's ancestors had come from Holland to the United States. That led the old man to tell me of the migration of the ancestor of the Cowrie Shell Miao from Kiangsi which I have mentioned earlier.[2]

796 527 In the afternoon I found twelve of the village girls sitting around a fire at their usual place, but they had no visitors as yet. During the day children went around from house to house making bows from the waist or kneeling and knocking the head to the ground. They were given sunflower seeds and parched beans and peas. That evening the family had another feast similar to the others.

796 533 527 From this time on the men sat about the fires in the houses, the women about several fires at certain points in the village and just inside the wood. The same women usually composed each group, but now and then one would visit a group not her own. The girls now sat about two fires and their "chaperones" about the third, while Cowrie Shell Miao boys from other villages came each day. There was much playing on bamboo flutes which seemed to call for a certain tune. They sang such songs as the farewell to the bride a great deal and made up more words for it. One of the young men wrote out for me the song I have compared with the one from Anlung and called it a song sung along the road. 527 796 The girls were all working on the embroidered overpiece. One day they put a turban on me 292 which seemed to be half unmarried girls' 123

[2] See p. 8.

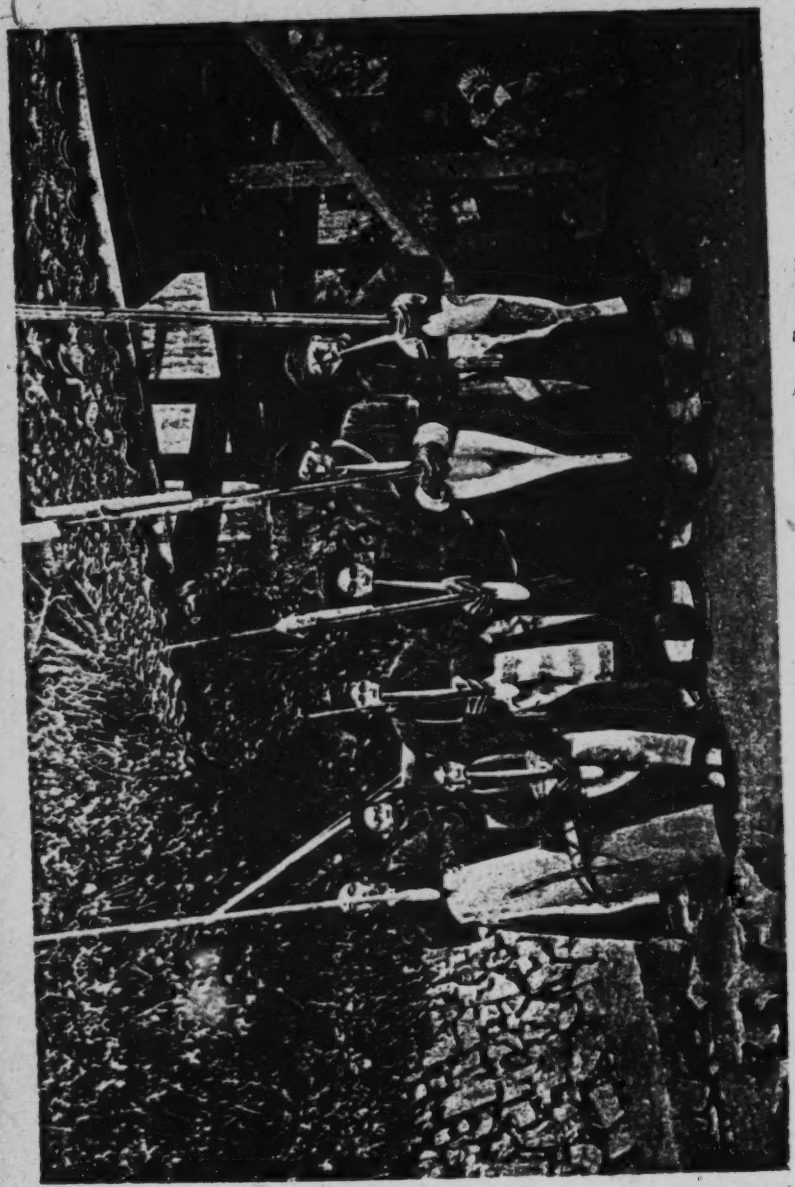
7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

sound, the lowest note, we believe, to which mortal ears are sensible. The tunes they play are very monotonous. 534

At the Heh Miao festivals, five players in a row, with instruments of different sizes, wheel round and round the man who plays the large pipes with the drum. A row of five young women go round with them, sometimes facing them and moving backwards, sometimes behind and following. To alter their position the young women wheel outside of the circle, let the pipers go round, and then wheel in again. This they call dancing, but there is no real dancing about it; it is merely pacing, yet it seems to interest them, and they do it very seriously. We think it must be reckoned bad form for them to laugh or smile while thus engaged, for we have seen the girls severely exerting themselves to keep their faces straight, when they evidently wanted at least to smile. As for the pipers, it is no laughing or smiling matter for them. They exert themselves so much that their cheeks are swollen, their eyes seem to stand out of their heads, and the perspiration streams down their red faces. We have seen thirty or forty of these groups of ten, circling round on one plot of ground, hemmed in by hundreds of spectators. The 535 796 533 796

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

533



A GROUP OF HEH MIAO (BLACK MIAO) PIPE-PLAYERS AT PANGHAI.

To face page 66.

[FACING p. 66]

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

533 796 sound of so many pipes all playing independently at the same time and place is certainly not music, and soon becomes positively exasperating to some ears. On the edge of the crowd are sweetstuff and cake sellers, and other hawkers moving about.

796 All the Miao have these festivals, but the music and pacing are not the same. Among the Hua Miao and Shui-hsi Miao, the women do not dance, but men dressed up in women's clothes, with their hair done up like women, take their place. Among the Hua Miao, all the babies born during the year are taken to these festivals, and carried about on the backs of their fathers. Many of the Miao villages around Anshunfu have, besides the pipes, their own band of four musicians, provided with a drum, a pair of cymbals, and two flageolets or flutes. These musicians are often invited and paid by the Chinese to play at their marriages, funerals, and other functions.

541 796 The pony-runnings at these festivals are not races, and there are no prizes given. A piece of land is selected, level or nearly level, and about one hundred and fifty yards long. Along this they gallop in a line one after another. On reaching the end of the course they turn off, and walk or trot back again to the starting-

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

[524] 524 Men sometimes amuse themselves by going hunting together, generally in the winter time when there is less work to do. Both men and boys play shuttlecock at New Year time. The shuttlecock is often made by fastening feathers to a piece of bamboo. Sometimes the shuttlecock is kicked but more often it is knocked back and forth by means of wooden bats. There is a memory game in which the players use grains of corn. One is blindfolded or turns his back and the grains of corn are laid out on the table. Others pick up the grains of corn, a few at a time and say, "So many grains have been picked up. How many are left?" Sometimes, one or two cobs of corn are held in the hand and the players guess how many grains of corn there are on each cob. One game is played by nailing two planks or wooden beams together in the center at right angles to each other and balancing them on a pivot. Four men or boys balance themselves on the four ends of the beams and others rapidly turn around the cross or wheel with the four men on it. "Playing lion" is indulged in at New Year time and at weddings. Two men throw over themselves a cloth resembling a lion's skin. Then the lion fights with a man who always triumphs over the beast. [273] [276] Occasionally friends are invited to a feast where wine and tobacco are the principal means of entertainment. Both men and women smoke tobacco and drink wine but few of them smoke opium.

583 The Ch'uan Miao are lovers of music and among their principal amusements are singing and playing the *liu shêng* 六笙 or six-tubed wind instrument accompanied with dancing. There is no written language and much of the history and legends or folklore of the group have been made into songs and are passed on from generation to generation. Some of [178] the words in the oldest songs are not understood by the Miao at the present time and many of the young people are not learning the songs so that it is probable that they will be forgotten and lost within the next forty years.

The Ch'uan Miao rarely sing group songs or songs in which men sing one verse and women sing another in response. This is more common among the Hua Miao. Nearly all the songs are sung by one person, a man or a woman, to whom others listen. Sometimes, but rarely, men sing one verse and [584] women sing in response alternating until the song is finished. The songs sung on such occasions are love songs. At engagement ceremonies the middle men of the bride and the middle men of the groom sing alternately, sometimes ridiculing and sometimes praising each other. These songs and their tunes have been composed and handed down to subsequent generations for hundreds and perhaps thousands of years and they

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

are still being made. There are sometimes contests to see who can sing the largest number of them. When anything important happens, a song may be composed and it is sung and taught to others. If some good deed is done, the person that is benefitted may write a song and thus spread the knowledge of it abroad and to future generations. If an injustice is done, this is an efficient way of punishing the offender and of securing revenge.

There is nothing that could be called band music, although at funerals and other ceremonies the jointed bugles, called in Chinese *sa la tzŭ*, and brass gongs are used, and the ceremonial drum is accompanied in funeral and memorial ceremonies by the *liu shêng*. The mouth harp, made of brass or of bamboo, is played by lovers when they are sitting side by side and making love to each other. Tree leaves are used for making love when the lovers are far apart, for the noise is much louder and they are thought to be very efficient in winning the feminine heart, as the following proverb shows:

blo꞉ tgə gwa· bo· tgə Ta·
blo꞉ tgə nd'ao bo· tgə hnao.

which means:

If the tree leaf does not resound, the wife will not come.

If the tree leaf does not sound forth, the wife will not hear.

With both the mouth harp and the tree leaf the music is accompanied by audible words.[10]

Of special interest is the *liu shêng* 六笙, called by the Ch'uan Miao gaign or gan. It consists of a piece of wood two feet or more in length, hollow inside, and larger at the bottom than near the top. The upper portion is about an inch in diameter and the base is from two to three inches in diameter. Into holes in the larger part of this wood are inserted six bamboo tubes of unequal lengths in which there are brass reeds. The six notes made by means of these tubes are all harmonious so that two or more can be sounded at one time. The result, in the hands of a skillful musician, is beautiful music. Only men and boys play the *liu shêng* and the player always accompanies the music with dancing, so that the result is not unlike that of a Scotchman playing his bagpipes.

10. Warning of the approach of robbers is sometimes given by means of tree leaf music which can be heard ten *li* distant. The speaker does not actually pronounce words. He or she makes the same tones with the same emphasis as if speaking the words or sentences and it is easily understood by another Ch'uan Miao.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

533 To an untrained occidental ear, the tunes of the Ch'uan Miao seem to be very much alike and to resemble those used in western countries by the liturgical churches in their religious chants.[11]

The Ch'uan Miao distinguish at least the following different kinds of songs with appropriate tunes:—

1. Songs sung by go-betweens when making engagements.
2. Songs sung when sending the bride away from her home on her wedding day.
3. Songs sung when welcoming a bride at her wedding and at other times during a wedding.
4. Love songs, of which there are two kinds, those sung more loudly when the lovers are apart and those sung in very low tones when lovers are sitting close together.
5. War songs.
6. Hunting songs.
7. Fishing songs.
8. Songs sung by *tuan kung* 端公, while exorcising demons.
9. Songs sung at deaths and at funerals.
10. Songs sung during memorial ceremonies.

533 534 The music of the *liu shêng* is distinguished as follows:—

1. That used when sweeping the house preparatory to a memorial festival.
2. When welcoming back home the souls of the dead.
3. When presenting the sacrificial animal to the ancestor.
4. When making a sacrificial offering of food or wine to the ancestor.
5. To distinguish time limits in the memorial ceremonies.
6. Thanking the filial son after feasts in the memorial ceremonies.
7. When sending or escorting the soul of the dead to heaven.
8. Tunes played just for amusement.

The mouth harp is played only in low, soothing tones when making love and audible words are spoken.

Only love songs are played with tree leaves. The music is louder than that of the mouth harp and audible words are spoken.

With the flute can be played

1. Love-songs, but words cannot be spoken.
2. Music merely for pleasure.

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11. While the tunes of the Ch'uan Miao are definite and regular, there is probably greater freedom for changes and variations than is the case in occidental music.

1 [566 p. 31]

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

836 On the second or third days of the second moon, at *tuan yang* 端陽, and on the sixth day of the sixth moon, men
837 and women and boys and girls go to market. There they make advances to each other and a boy or a man goes home with a girl or a woman. On the way or in her home they are likely to enjoy sexual intercourse. They may or may not be married people. If anybody in the home of the woman or girl objects, a quarrel ensues. Generally no trouble is made by the wife or husband of either of the actors. But sometimes a woman who has irregular sexual relations with men other than her husband objects to her husband's doing likewise and in rare cases she commits suicide. It is said that among the Ch'uan Miao there are no harlots, women who habitually sell themselves for money and depend on that for a living. Sexual relations are generally the result of love affairs.

837 At the *tso chai* 做齋 ceremony or the *ch'ao chien* 超薦
593 ceremony, or at the *hua t'an* ceremony, the host may bring out a bamboo stick and hang it up on his door and near it hang up an iron chain. Then he says, "You are my guests, old and young. If a wife or a husband causes trouble because of what his mate does I will not endure it." He implies that he will beat that person and if the person does not run away or desist he will chain that person up. Then those present quietly entice each other, without speaking a word. If a man entices a woman and she consents, they enjoy each other and nothing happens. If she refuses, he desists. The same principal holds if the woman makes the advances. The act of sexual intercourse may take place in the woods, in the house where the guests are being entertained, or in another house. Nothing is done by either a husband or a wife afterwards. It is thought by some that this custom has grown out of unhappy early marriages.

Women purposely dress as well as possible so as to look pretty and attractive to the opposite sex. They do not use face powder, but most of them do not need to for Nature has given them good complexions. Women who are popular with men are pretty or ready of speech or well dressed or good singers or have bright minds or have money. These are the qualities that attract the men. Men who are popular with the women are handsome, or mentally bright or good singers or good at playing the *lin shêng* and dancing, or have money. Wealth alone is not sufficient, although it makes a great difference, and generally but not always ability to work is esteemed. 533 It is said that the most potent music of all in making love is that made by blowing on tree leaves which has the advantage that audible words can be spoken by the musician.

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?) 1954 AE5 Miao AE5

846 While the couvade is found among the Hua Miao neighbors
837 to the south,

evidence of this practice has yet been found among the Ch'uan Miao. The Ch'uan Miao, however, have a very strange custom: Certain female relatives of the man are his "guest-wives," and certain male relatives of a woman are her "guest-husbands." Without marriage they are allowed to practice sexual relations, and it is not regarded as wrong. In recent years, owing to Christian influence, there have been endeavors to discontinue this practice.

631 The Ch'uan Miao are not a tribe with a political organization that includes
622 the whole group. There are no tribal rulers, but they have local headmen, called *gü leo* or "old clubs," who sometimes cooperate for the common good. These people are an ethnic group bound together by common language, ideals, and customs and by a strong sense of unity. They are very sociable and mutually helpful.

SOCIAL LIFE AND CEREMONIES

517 Practically the only amusements of Ch'uan Miao women and girls are visiting, attending feasts, marriages, funerals, and other ceremonies, listening to people singing songs and watching the men dance and play the *liu sheng*, going to market, making love, and gossiping. They are supposed to use their spare time for sewing and making hemp thread and yarn and embroideries.

526 Among the more popular amusements of men and boys are hunting, kicking
536 the shuttlecock, and playing "snake protecting her eggs," blindman's buff, sham
273 battle, or dogs chasing wild animals. During the New Year holidays and at
276 weddings "playing lion" is a popular amusement. Both men and women smoke tobacco and drink wine. While the Miao have no theatricals, they often join the throngs and look at Chinese plays being performed in temples or in the open in Chinese towns and cities.

●533 Like the other Miao groups in China, the Ch'uan Miao are lovers of music. Except the singing and the responses of go-betweens while making engagements, in contests between men and women, and in the newly established schools and chapels, there is no group singing. There is a kind of band music, but usually all the instruments play the same tune in unison. Generally the *liu sheng* is played by one man who dances, and vocalists sing one at a time while all listen with rapt attention. This singing of stories and songs is one of the principal amusements of the Ch'uan Miao.

The singing may be by either a man or a woman, generally of middle age or older. Nearly all the stories and myths and bits of history of the group have been made into songs and as such are handed down from generation to generation, taught by one singer to another. Some of the singers know only a few songs, but
212 there are some who know and can sing several hundred. It should be emphasized that the Ch'uan Miao have no written language or literature.

584 There is a great deal of love-making among the Ch'uan Miao, who have their share of pretty girls. Marriage is through go-betweens, and the arrangements are made between the older members of the two families, the bride and the groom often not even being consulted. There is a gift from the parents of the groom to those of the bride, and the value of the gift often determines whether the engagement is made.

lk Yang, Beh & Morse D-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AE5 Miao AE5

this goes a hollow bamboo tube 2–3 feet long through which they blow; through the body go, at right angles to this blowing tube, 6 bamboo tubes ¼-inch in diameter perforated by several holes. When played it sounds very much like Scot bagpipes. When they play it they dance. Their singing is not as falsetto as the Chinese. The clothes and hats of the women are often beautifully embroidered. Some men also wear embroidered clothes, but most of their (men's) clothing is like the Chinese. Neolithic stone implements were found in considerable numbers.

Conclusions.—The report of the blood-groups of 205 Ch'wan Miao (157 males and 48 females), an aboriginal type of Szechwan province, West China, is submitted. There is also a report made of 1,292 Chinese of that province. The Ch'wan Miao examined were adults, their blood-pressure was recorded,[2] photographs were taken and a complete physical anthropological examination was made.

The blood-groups of the Ch'wan are very low in A and high in B, as compared with the Szechwanese.

[P. 67 b]

[9 cont.]

517 purpose of these festivities is to celebrate in advance a rich harvest, and therefore the participants are numerous, especially the young men and women, who go there in new and pretty clothes with the object of finding a mate. As to moon dance, sitting in the moon, singing or chasing the moon, these are occasions specially designed for love-making by the young.

[533] Both men and women are good singers, and they sing to drown out the sorrows in their chest, as well as to effect a lover's union. Anyone who fails to sing at marriage and funeral ceremonies will surely be disgraced. Singing, in short, is a necessary accomplishment. Within a short distance from the village there

[443] is a level ground for the market fair held once in every six days; this is the center of trade for the Miao-I. On such occasions people gather together at the fair, bustling, loitering and looking around, their heart full of joy and fun. It gives them a respite from their routine toil. Aside from this they are fond of music.

[534] Their musical instruments include the liu-sheng, wu-sheng [five tube bamboo wind instrument, flutes, harmonicas, so-na [a clarinet type wind instrument], brass drums, and p'i-pa [lute]. The liu-sheng is the most common instrument; it is made of bamboo with a gradation of notes resembling that of a military band. Its tune is like the plaintive call of a bird but with a variation of notes. The music accompanies simple dance steps, out of which they derive much pleasure and satisfaction.

4. Ceremonies and Customs

584 1) Marriage. The various Miao-I ethnic groups in Kweichow are rather complicated, but their marriage customs, though varying to a certain extent, are generally the same among different tribes. Marriages are either arranged by parents or the parties themselves, but mostly follow the will of the former and take the advice of the go-between. To negotiate marriage [10] they first discuss gifts and dowries. After marriage the bride goes back to her parents

591 until she is about to give birth to a son. She is then confined to her husband's house. In ancient times, this custom was first

[18 cont.]

301 two silver bracelets and two or three finger rings. But when they put on their best embroidered clothes, then they would wear a kind of silver headgear with different kinds of silver pins in the chignon, and at least two or three solid silver necklaces, sometimes as many as a dozen; the number of bracelets and finger rings they wear is also doubled. They would have still more silver jewelry on the dress or attached to the waist. The [556] quantity of silver worn is an index to the wealth of the family, and so during festivals the women become exhibits in every family.

3. Marriage

584 Marriage among the Miao is mostly the result of love, but the mediation of the match-maker and the engagement ceremony are necessary before fixing the date of marriage. Young men and women [19] at the "liu sheng [reed-wind instrument] dance" in the first lunar month may openly fall in love with each other without the intervention of parents or brothers of the family. In ordinary times, especially during the holidays, they may also court each other at will. So on the mountain slope or in the field we often observe scenes of "yao-ma-lang" (i.e., love-making), when they sing songs to each other in questions [593] and answers. One party would ask a question in a song, and if the other party is willing she sings back the answer. These songs are extemporized, full of freedom and naturalness. Such serenades last till sunset when they begin to return home. After a suitable period of time, if their feelings persist then the parents would find a go-between to arrange the engagement.

836 This system of love and marriage seem very free, yet there is no promiscuity. Their conduct is regulated by unwritten laws and they all have a high sense of decency. For instance, yao-ma-lang is carried on out of sight of old people, and yet it has to be within sight of passers-by. Furthermore, men and women must remain at least five feet apart, and necking and embracing are taboo. (The Long-skirt Miao not far away from them permit

[199 cont.]
517 832 579 with weapons over a girl. Such brawls, known as "seeking enemies," are not infrequent.

[200] (V) Musical Instruments. The Miao-I within the 534 district are fond of playing musical instruments. These include the liu-sheng [six-pipe bamboo wind instrument], wu-sheng [five-pipe bamboo wind instrument], k'ou-ch'in [mouth organ or harmonica], hsiao-ti [flutes and fifes] and so-na [clarinet-type wood-wind instrument], of which the liu-sheng is the most common among the Miao-I. Each family, no matter how rich or poor, owns one. The instruments are described as follows:

(a) The liu-sheng. This instrument is called liu-sheng 六笙 because its bamboo tubes can give six [liu 六] tones. It is also called lu-sheng 蘆笙 from the word "lu" 蘆, meaning "bamboo-reed." It is made of six bamboo tubes of varying lengths, one end of which is inlaid with a brass plate as a metallic tongue. The bamboo tubes are inserted into either a round or square wooden case, at one end of which is a wooden handle. Each tube has a hole, through which the player blows and sucks, and which he stops at will with his fingers, thus issuing different sounds. The varying lengths of the bamboo tubes make it possible to have both high and low pitches.

The use of the liu-sheng is very extensive. At the flower dance, the market dance, the moon dance and other gatherings this is the most important musical instrument. During the funeral ceremony the liu-sheng renders the most solemn music. Young men who wish to excel others have no regard for the time con- [832] sumed in mastering the art of playing this instrument, for it is the best recommendation to the fair sex. The following are two com- ● 583 mon tunes for the six-tube bamboo wind-instrument. Its music, simple and clear, is used to accompany songs that are widely sung in the Miao-I area.

12: Wu and Ch'en--119 E-5 (1939-41) 1942 AE5 Miao AE5

[200 cont.]

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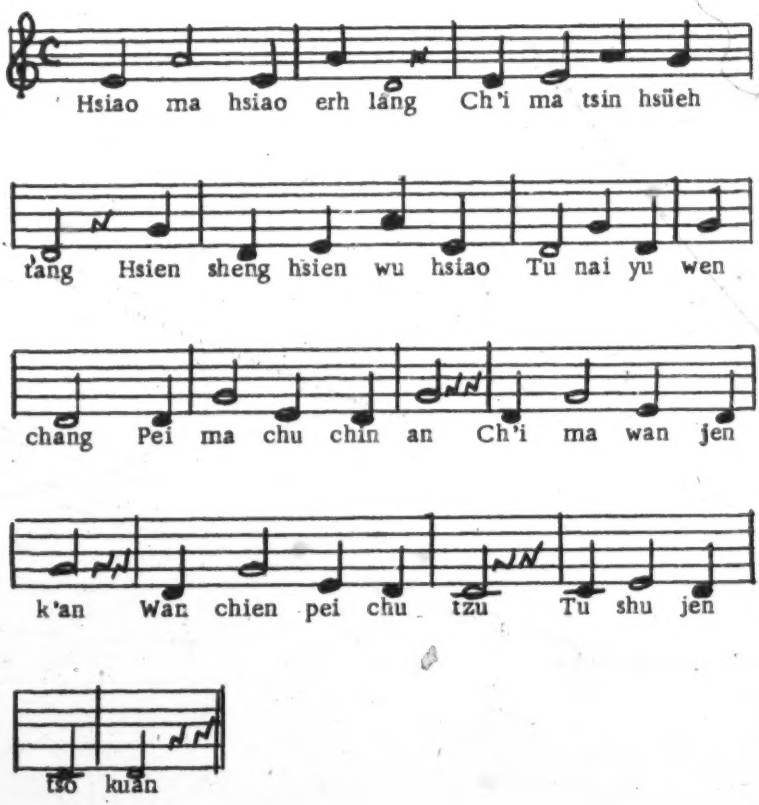
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tso kuan

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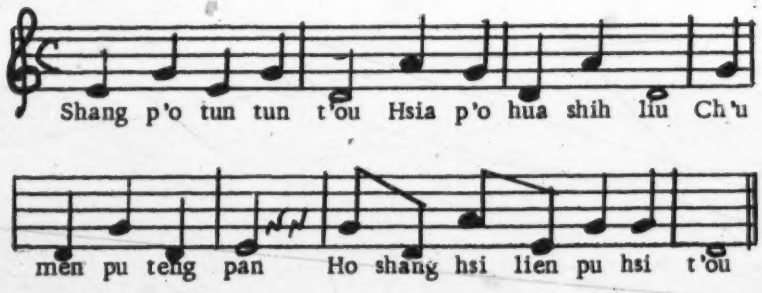

[201 cont.]

534 sizes. All the young men are fond of playing these instruments. It is a first step toward playing the so-na. On the other hand, a trumpeter must first learn how to play the flute or fife. The latter can also produce music with a seducive lilt, not any less licentious than the five-tube bamboo wind instrument.

[202] (e) The so-na. The Miao-I are very fond of playing the so-na, a clarinet type of instrument. One sees young men and cowboys practicing it. This popular instrument resembles the trumpet [la-pa] used in funeral ceremonies. Originally the use of the so-na was limited to funeral and sacrificial functions in the same way that the local Chinese use cymbals, gongs and drums. When the Miao-I have a funeral, people do [764] not sleep at night and the so-na is used to revive the spirit. Furthermore, as the lamentations at a Miao-I funeral are most sad and heart-rending, the so-na is used to drown out the pitiful wails so that they will not be heard outside. But, today, on all festive occasions such as weddings, both the Chinese and the Miao-I play this clarinet type of instrument to lend gaiety to the affairs.

Besides the above instruments there are also brass drums, lutes [p'i-pa], moon harps, two-string violins, wooden leaves and horns, but they are not as popular.

533 (VI) Singing. Singing is very popular among the various Miao-I tribes in An-shun. It is regarded as a necessary requirement in social gatherings, and good singers are admired and applauded by the public. Singing provides a good medium for young men and women to get together. Those who cannot sing will have trouble in solving their marital problems. Therefore, the Miao-I men and women all know the words of the songs by heart since childhood. The structure of the songs is quite different from those sung by the local Chinese, and they sound exotic and peculiar to us. The following are some specimens of the songs sung by the Hua Miao, Ch'ing Miao and Chung-chia; the words are freely translated, but the tunes cannot be reproduced here.

[151 cont.]

157 609 the stranger who comes to visit him and who is completely safe under his roof.

The "Méo" women are gay, mirthful, only slightly shy, especially when their confidence has been gained. (One may see in photo 128, Plate 43, a European woman in the midst of a group of "Méotes," who are showing a sometimes indiscreet curiosity regarding all that has to do with the details of costume and of coiffure of strangers from the Occident.)

562 The condition of the "Méo" women is rather hard. They share in the most difficult labor.

836 The young women are not distinguished by an excess of virtue, but this fact is considered of little importance by the "Méo."

526 The young boys and the young men greatly honor exercises of skill and strength and often compete with one another in carrying heavy burdens or in racing over the mountains.

[152] The various dialects used by the "Méo" are monosyllabic. 193 As among the "Man-ta-pan" the qualifying word is placed before the noun, the subject before the verb, the direct object after the indirect.

197 It is likely that in their country of origin each "Méo" tribe used a special dialect. Among the tribes settled in Tonkin, who are very much mixed together, the dialects, which are not fixed by any writing, seem to blend together by regions and to be used in each of these regions by all the "Méo" tribes who dwell there.

[198] Almost all the "Méo" use the "kouan-hoa" as the language of commerce. Literate persons are very rare. Those who know a few 212 characters pronounce them in the Chinese fashion. The "Méo" are [871] beginning to send their children to the schools that are being conducted in our frontier posts located at the high altitudes. For their [648] dealings with the authorities and for writing their rare letters, they have recourse to the help of a literate Chinese.

538 The "Méo" have no written literature, but they know narratives, prayers, and some songs, which they sing in a monotonous, [533] sad tone. They show little imagination, much simplicity and sometimes even triviality, for they particularly extol the material joys of life, of the table, and of love, the sole pleasures of a race whose

[166 cont.]

591 either remains in the paternal home or found a new household, in accordance with their choice. The young couple

Other forms of marriage are also practiced by the "Méo."
583 When an official request in marriage has been refused, it is not rare to see the young people pay no attention to the consent of their parents and elope together. When they return they secure their pardon by paying an indemnity to the parents of the young woman.

A poor "Méo" may wed a rich girl. In this case it is the girl's
[556] family that bears all of the expenses of the ceremony, but the married couple enter into a contract to serve this family for a number of years agreed upon.

584 In the region of Pha-Long, the "Méo" observe a rather curious
533 custom and hold a sort of "marriage fair," to which come, in great numbers, young men and young women from several leagues roundabout. This gathering is held on a grassy plateau where boys and girls form in groups about twenty paces apart, turning their backs to each other. These groups sing alternating choruses, very simple ones, in which the young men boast of their skill, their strength, and their wealth and the young women glorify their housekeeping virtues and enumerate the treasures of their trousseaux. Often some sprightly word causes mirth throughout the gathering. The laughter, the songs, and the dances of the men playing the "sen" last throughout the entire afternoon. The sellers of alcohol and cakes do a very good business, while the youths and maidens become better acquainted and establish a basis for future unions.

It is during the days which follow this festival that the great
584 majority of the official marriage requests are made. (Photo 154, Plate 40, shows the plateau where this marriage fair was held, near Pha-Long, on February 21, 1912. Photo 155, Plate 40 shows the dance of a "sen" player during the festival. Photos 156 and 157, Plate 40 show groups of young women [167] belonging to various "Meo" tribes of the region of Pha-Long who have come to the fair in question.)

595 Polygamy is authorized, although it is rare for the "Méo" to take a second wife, except when the first one remains sterile.

[168 cont.]

776 tormenting human beings, they have no fear at all of these bad spirits, contrary to what we have seen in the "Thai" and especially in the "Man." Also the "Thai" and the "Man" consider the "Méo" as men of a special species.

774 [169] The "Méo" think that men have three souls, "pli," 775 that reincarnate themselves in the bodies of pregnant women. (See note on page 178.)

793 They have the priest-sorcerers who preside at the ceremonies and have the power of communicating with the spirits. These priests are illiterate and receive no initiation. The tribal traditions, the curtailed rites, and the few formulas of exorcism or of incantation are orally transmitted. The office is usually hereditary.

796 The "Méo" celebrate a great many festivals, which are so many occasions for having a spree. At the beginning of the year, the spirits of heaven, of the earth, and of the hearth are especially feted, as well as the ancestors. At planting time, sacrifices are made to the spirit of the mountains, protector of the crops. After the harvest, further sacrifices to the spirit of the mountains and to the ancestors. The third day of the fifth month, a special celebration at the time of the harvesting of medicinal herbs. Besides these ceremonies on fixed dates, the "Méo" carefully celebrate the anniversaries [527] of births and of other happy events. All these festivals consist of feasting and drinking intermingled with songs and dances. The "Méo" [157] nature is carefree and very gay; he loves music and dancing. The [831] songs, in "Méo" dialect, are always obscene and even erotic. The [533] dance, performed only by the men, is most often done while playing [535] the "sen." The player keeps his knees bent and the upper part of his body leaning forward. He jumps from one foot to the other, either while turning about or going forward or backward, but without ceasing his playing. (Photo 155, Plate 40.)

524 The "Méo" children very often play the game of the revolving seesaw, which they probably got from the Chinese. A solid post, deeply planted in the earth, terminates at its upper end in a central peg, on which is balanced a very big pole, which has for this purpose a hole through its center. This pole is movable horizontally about the axis formed by the central peg described above. It is also movable

000 from their necklaces. They like dancing, songs and music. Their
● 533 instruments are the flageolet and flute with organ pipes or sen. The
534 latter is composed of a stout tube ending in a metal mouthpiece, in
535 the middle of which are inserted six organ pipes of varying length, pierced with holes at their base. To play this instrument one blows into the mouthpiece while holding the large tube in both hands at arm's length, at the same time closing certain of the holes on the organ pipes with the fingers. Thus nasal sounds resembling those of a bad accordion are obtained. This music is always accompanied by a somewhat grotesque dance in which the musician himself engages. Holding the instrument at arm's length in a very inconvenient way, he leans his body forward from the hips and, skimming over the ground with his feet, he starts hopping from one foot to the other, while turning about to the right or to the left. This heavy and graceless exercise reminds one of the dance of a bear at a fair. The Meo also play a small jew's-harp which is made up of a thin strip of brass
[562] which vibrates against the teeth. Women neither dance nor play musical instruments, but love to sing in shrill voices like a small girl, while working in the fields.

273 We shall see farther on that all the ceremonies are accompanied by feasts lasting several days. In addition in the high region the Meo /142/ have the reputation of being the mountaineers most inclined to drunkenness. Happily for the future of their race, the altitude at which they live and the arduous work to which they devote themselves are elements which combat the dangers of alcoholism.

844 Customs relative to childbirth are not remarkable. No sign
851 marks the house of a woman in confinement. A woman in labor seats
848 herself on a tabouret to give birth to her infant, assisted by her mother or midwife. If the new-born child is a boy, the placenta is buried in front of the main doorway, and if it is a girl, under the kitchen hearth As among the Tho, bastards are given a very poor reception. If an attempt to bring about an abortion has not been successful, the mother is forced to leave her infant to die of hunger.

584 Marriage preliminaries are shorter and less complicated than among the Tho. When a young man desires to wed a young woman, he tells his father about it, and he sends two of his men friends, selected from among older and respectable persons, carrying sticks of incense, in order to make the proposal. The sweet-smelling sticks are stuck into the soil and lighted in front of the doorway of the young woman's parents. If the master of the house offers a drink of alcohol

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/61 cont./

AM 857 532 In general it can be said that the girls are better at representation than the boys, whereas the latter observe more accurately and are better able to express in detail the characteristic features of what is represented. In contrast to plastic representation, I did not see a single case of drawing. It never occurred to the children to draw /62/ either on the bark of trees or on paper, not even in the sand of the village square. It was only at my suggestion that they applied themselves to drawing (Ill. 67).[1] I shall discuss the interesting results in the chapter, "Art," section on "Painting, Sculpture, Ornamentation."

AM 526 [533] There are few games based on rules among the Meau, whereas the Akha know many (Ill. 20 and 21).[2] No songs, however, are sung in connection with them, if one does not count as such the positively infernal clamor set up especially among the Akha on such occasions. Otherwise, however, little is spoken during the games of the Akha and Meau, and they bother even less with explanations.

Whereas the Akha know nothing about any ball game, among the Meau it is by far the most popular pastime and is the only game described, even if incompletely, by Dhuraratsadorn (1), as well as being repeatedly mentioned in

1. Page 171.

M 526 628 584 the ancient Chinese literature. Children of all ages play ball. I saw small perhaps six-year-old girls, who were hardly able to throw the ball properly, playing just as eagerly as grown-up boys and girls. Usually the boys play against the girls, and, in the case of adults, the young men of one village against the girls of another, whose young men, in turn, visit the village deserted by the other boys, in order to entertain the girls who remained there with ball-playing.

Such , I might almost say official, visits between the villages occur only rarely during the year, chiefly in connection

1 [See cat. 116, p 511 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " p 110-111 - ANALYST]

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/83 cont./

A M 857 [534] [538] may happen that a father gives his child a simple tube flute /Stabflöte/ or a whistle. Otherwise there is no art in the life of the children which is not also practiced by the adults. I did not find nursery rhymes or fairy tales; /84/ singing, however, plays a great role in the life of the Meau children, while among the Akha instead of this it is dancing (see the chapter, "Art," section on "Dancing").

M 533 [868] [535] The Meau mother sings her baby to sleep and in doing so tells it about the work in the fields; the father or the older brothers, however, sing different songs to the boys, especially the old love songs. Not until they are about fourteen years old do they learn the dances, which are closely tied in with the cult (see the chapter, "Art," section on "Dancing").

A 535 857 868 It is otherwise among the Akha, among whom dancing plays an important role even at the earliest age. I repeatedly saw three-year-old girls trying to imitate the dances of the adults. As soon as the children are to the slightest degree physically able to do it, they dance with devotion and persistence and try to learn all the details of the dances. The adults do not support them in this endeavor; they do not teach them and do not correct their mistakes; instead, the older children guide the younger ones and make them aware of their mistakes. The children's marked talent for imitation is very helpful in this.

A M 532 Plastic representations are unknown to the Meau (see the chapter, "Art," section on "Painting, Sculpture, Ornamentation"). It is therefore amazing that the children, though they never see products of this form of art activity, are nevertheless able to make human and animal figures out of clay (Ill. 65).[2] The same is true of the Akha children who do not see any sculpture except the wooden figures standing before the entrances to the villages (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section on "Deities and Spirits").

2 A [See cat 116, P471 - ANALYST]

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Miao AE5

/88 cont./

M 832 883 123 seriously disturbed. It is gayest when Bun Ma, our Lao interpreter, is visited in his camp by three or four girls together. Then there is no end of ringing laughter; it wakes us up in the morning and prevents us from falling asleep at night. They tease him about one of the girls, urge him to visit her because, they say, she is waiting for him, ask how the Lao make love, and so forth. Bun Ma, a slender, gracefully built Lao, feels himself very much the center of attention and declares that if they were not so dirty he would long since have made friends with a Meau girl. As a matter of fact, the dirtiness of the girls considerably disturbs the Lao, very much accustomed to cleanliness, though he is readily captivated by the pretty faces and the ingratiating nature of the girls. In the evening Bun Ma sits in the house of the chief, and the girls teach him the love songs of the Meau in their language, and even the old chief joins in and, turning toward Bun Ma with a smirk, sings in the same register as the girls and amid general laughter: 'Where do you stay so long, I am waiting for you!'"

M [515]

M [533]

A M 836 [548] [431] That purely materialistic considerations play only a minor role in the choice of a partner is shown by the fact that prostitution is unknown among both peoples and a girl never yields to a man who is not congenial to her. To be sure, it is customary for every young man to give his beloved a silver necklace, if he can afford it, while the girl in return gives him a beautiful batik cloth which she has made herself (see the chapter, "Clothing and Ornaments"); these gifts are /Ills. 22-25 appear here on unnumbered pages/ /89/ exchanged as a matter-of-course and incidentally after the pleasures of love have been enjoyed, and no girl is going to deny herself to a young man who is unable to give her an ornament, if she likes him otherwise. A girl is never influenced in the choice of her partner by the prospect of receiving an ornament afterward.

M 114 548 836 In contrast to my observations, Abadie (1) writes

1. Page 167.

concerning the Meau: "Even cases of prostitution are reported, without its casting the slightest dishonor upon those concerned..."

/89 cont./

A more detailed description, however, shows that this is without
114 doubt a case of degeneracy about such as the proximity of any
548 major station may bring about. The author speaks of a "sacred
836 grove" in the neighborhood of Dongvan and continues: "If a European goes for a walk in this grove, one immediately sees several Meau girls descend from the neighboring hills where they work and offer the stroller their smiles and ... the rest..."

836 The unmarried, mature boys and girls of the Meau meet at suitable places along the edge of the fields or preferably at night in the field huts, but never in a dwelling. Dhuraratsadorn (2)

2. Page 168.

even maintains in his work that lovers are forbidden to meet in
[774 any dwelling for a tryst, because this would offend the house
688] spirits. If anyone were to violate this command, he would be fined by the village elders, and the fine would be handed over to the owner of the house. Thus if two young people wanted to meet, they would have to agree on a place somewhere in the jungle.

[343] The Chinese sources speak of special "love huts" of the young people, which girls, beginning at the age of ten, are allowed to visit (3).

3. Eberhard, II, p. 154.

● [533] Singing and the jew's-harp (see the chapter, "Art," the section on "Music and Musical Instruments")play an important role at these meetings. The lovers hold hands and take turns singing to each other or playing the jew's-harp for hours.

833 Gradually the music-makers proceed to the sexual overtures, which are sometimes prolonged for hours. The partners stroke chest, body, and back, touch and stroke the organs, intertwine their legs, nuzzle each other, bite /90/ each other
[832 hard, and the like. The European kiss, on the other hand, is unknown, as among most primitive peoples, as is touching the mouth of the partner with one's own mouth, as well as erotic

/100 cont./

595 [583] On the wedding day the bridegroom, or his family, has to pay the bride's parents a sum of money fixed in advance. For the first wife this is about 150-200 pieces of silver the value of which corresponds approximately to the mark; for wives married later several times this amount is often given, since the first wife, who is regarded as the chief wife (nă thǫ), does not do any work herself once there are additional wives, but merely passes along the husband's orders to the younger wives (nă yǫ) /101/ and supervises their work. The husband himself does not give any orders to the younger wives. It is therefore a desirable position to be the chief wife in a household with several wives, and since any wife married later has to obey all the wives married earlier and therefore outranking her, a hard life usually begins for such a young wife upon her marriage, and cohabitation is only poor compensation for it, even though the husband usually prefers her as the younger.

184 585 The customs described by various other authors, each according to the region that he surveyed, are somewhat different. Savina, for instance, writes (1): "The wedding feast is

1. II, p. 226.

[214 782] celebrated by the parents and parents-in-law. Men and women never sit together at the same table. At the end of the meal the bridegroom bows silently before the ancestors. Then the money that the guests brought with them is counted, and the trousseau of the bride is inspected. Weeping, the latter sings

585 533 the wedding song:

'Attracted by the singing of the decoy, the poor forest bird lets itself be caught by a snare. Imprisoned in a cage, it sadly watches its comrades fly in freedom.

'Oh, poor mother! Who will now get up early in the morning to light the fire on your hearth? Who will prepare the meal for you, who will tend your chickens and pigs? Who will go into the forest to look for firewood, who will fetch water from the spring? Who will split your hemp, who will weave your linen?'"

/104/

114 may perhaps be true for certain regions where the Meau find
184 themselves in especially tight economic straits. Dhuraratsa-
595 dorn (1) probably writes more accurately: "A man may take

1. Page 169.

as many wives as he wishes, but he needs the permission of his chief wife to do so. The concubines have to work for the husband and the chief wife like ordinary servants." Savina (2) adds that

2. II, p. 226.

polygamy is widespread among some tribes of the Meau, but is unknown among others.

583 Among the Meau the bride price plays an important role;
614 the entire large /extended/ family of the young husband helps
[596] to raise it. If the wife should for any reason later return to her parents, they must pay it back. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the sib is very interested in the good conduct of the married couple and is intent on not letting dissension between the young people become serious.

184 Abadie (3) reports on a strange custom which he describes
584

3. Page 166.

as follows from the Meau of the Pha-Long region: "They arrange a kind of marriage market. Here young men and girls, who have come from the surrounding area for several miles, meet one another. This meeting takes place on a plateau covered with grass. The young men and girls form groups which, at a distance of about twenty paces, turn their backs to each other. [533] These groups sing simple antiphonal songs in which the young men boast of their skill, strength, and wealth, while the young girls extol their housewifely virtues and the richness of their trousseau. A droll word often arouses general merriment; the laughter, singing, and dancing of the men, who play the

/117 cont./

764 former times. No gifts are added to the coffin. The grave is now closed again with stones and earth; sometimes a mound is formed, sometimes it remains flat. It also happens that a simple fence is erected around the grave site or the grave mound. Often the grave is also covered with leaves which are weighted down with sticks and stones. This is supposed to be [825] the most effective way to prevent wild animals from digging up the corpse. If the location of the grave is to be kept secret, the earth which remains after the grave is closed is scattered, and in a few hours nothing remains to suggest a burial site. [766] In no case, not even in connection with the death of prominent Meau, are forked posts or megaliths erected.

764 After the burial a sacrifice is offered. In the case of a 782 poor man, pigs or merely chickens are slaughtered without much ceremony or ado. If he were a rich man, however, the [556] sacrifice consists of an ox or a buffalo. Even during the [533] slaughtering, the playing of the mouth organs, the gongs, and, [775] if such are available, the drums begins and continues uninterruptedly until the meat of the sacrificial animal is completely cut up and the soul of the deceased has been invited to enjoy itself. This is followed by dancing to the mouth organs, which ends the funeral. During the following three days additional [775] sacrifices are offered to the soul of the deceased by putting food on the grave, since it is assumed that during this period it stays in the vicinity of the grave (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section "Ideas about Death and the Soul").

[766] The manner of burial is basically the same for men, [554] women, and children, with no differences other than that the sacrifices characterize the social rank of the deceased. Moreover, depending on the rank of the deceased, more or fewer 764 mourners appear. Abadie (1) confirms this and describes the 766 177

1. Page 168.

burial of a very distinguished Meau chief, which, he says, was just as simple as that of a humble man, except for the coffin for which, following the Chinese custom, a non-rotting, petrified wood was used.

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Miao AE5

/139/

b) Music and Musical Instruments

A M 533 The basic music is the same among both peoples; both peoples know singing and the use of musical instruments.

Singing

Singing plays an important role among the Meau as well as among the Akha; both sexes sing on various occasions. I found no confirmation for the assertion by Dhuraratsadorn that the Meau make music only in connection with burials. To be sure, the Akha enjoy singing even more than the Meau, for whom singing while working in the rice fields is prohibited by a taboo (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," section on "Cult and Taboo"), whereas the Akha sing unhindered and by preference at just such work.

M [243] [784]

Among both peoples there are a few traditional songs of old whose texts are unalterable. The dance songs of the Akha girls belong to this group. The great majority of song texts, however, are improvised and depend on the situation and the singer. There are, for instance, many variations of the songs with which the mother sings her child to sleep. Hopes, wishes, and admonitions are woven into these lullabies of the Meau in which are repeated innumerable times and always to the same melody:

M [854]

M [539] "Sleep well, my child, I shall cover you to keep you warm and go into the rice field to get fodder for our animals."

"Sleep, my girl, and do not cry, otherwise the dogs and the pigs will bite you."

"Sleep well, my boy, and do not play with knives and do not lose your covering."

"Sleep, my child, I shall go into the rice field and cut sugar cane for you and bring you good food."

A M 533 832 Singing is very important for lovers; it gives them a chance to express the intensity of their emotions, knowledge, mental ability, ready wit, and humor. It is significant that

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A M 533 832 [621] [186] among both peoples good singers always find special approval among the girls. It should also be pointed out that /140/ a pronounced love for one's native village runs through many of the love songs, which would not be expected among either the Meau or Akha, since both, as seminomadic peoples, often change their habitation sites. One might assume, therefore, that no special attachment to their villages would develop, but since the opposite is the case, it seems to indicate that the nomadic inclination of these peoples is only a secondary development (see the chapter, "Cultural Change and Colonial-Ethnological Problems among the Mountain Peoples in Thailand," section on "Causes of the Migrations").

M 539 832 The most impressive are the love songs of the Meau, which sometimes betray a really lyrical feeling:

"I came to your village in order to love you, but you would not even speak to me; this has made my heart sick with pain."

"I am a strong young man. Oh, why will you not hold my hand?" (Here the singer complains that the girl came to the rendezvous, but now is unwilling to surrender.)

"I visited you in your house, but you did not love me, so I am leaving."

"Now I have come to you, and if you will only stroke my neck, I shall be happy for several years, even if you do not grant me anything else."

"Speak only two words, and I shall be happy for a long time" (the "two words" mean a confirmation of love in return).

"I came to your house; why did you not offer me a cold drink?" (Girls present a "cold drink," that is, water, to the friend toward whom they are favorably inclined. Liquor is regarded as a very obvious invitation.)

M [273] "I came to your house, in front of which there is a tree with three fruits. Eat only one fruit, the others are poisonous!" (The singer has heard that his sweetheart has two other friends and warns her.)

/140 cont./

539 832 The lover also often assures the girl of his faithfulness with a song: "If someone offers me two oranges, I shall eat only one!"

"If two cups of clear water are offered to me, I shall drink only one!" (This indicates that he will not accept a "cold drink" from another girl.)

[836] /141/ Keepsakes are also cherished by the lovers, as is shown by the following definitely lyrical songs:

"If you give me a kerchief, I shall take care of it as I would of you. Whenever I see it, I shall think of you." -- The girl, to whom the boy has given a neck-ring, replies: "When I look at your neck-ring, your embraces will be present to me and I shall think of you."

The following song has particularly fervent words:

"I shall press your kerchief to my breast. If I remain alive, I shall return, and if I should die, my soul will hover around you as a good spirit."

Marabail (1), too, published love songs of the Meau:

1. Pages 296 and 298.

"The young man: 'Man is born only once. Just as the bee and the butterfly seek out the distant flower, so are human beings forced to cover long distances to find those with whom they are to unite. We two are from different villages, yet we want to marry. It is heaven that wishes this, heaven that is just and never errs.' The girl replies: 'Like the reed and the plum tree we are separated by endless distances. One should not jest so. Since you give me the example of the bees, however, we need only imitate them. Expect me then in the evening at nightfall, and I shall not fail to come.'"

539 Savina (2), too, is one of the authors who mention and

2. II, p. 197.

[533] record such alternate songs: "Most of the songs consist of questions and answers." He then gives the song of a mother who mourns for her deceased children: "The little children to

/141 cont./

539 whom the mothers sing in the evening awaken in the morning with the first light. Why then do mine, who have already slept so long, never awaken anymore?

"Every spring when the peach trees bloom by the houses, the little swallows return and again fill their old nests on the smoky roofs with eggs. Why do my children never return anymore to look at their poor little beds?

"Every year when the maize is in bloom in the fields, the cuckoos return to see once more the lonely trees on the mountains and the rocks on the banks /142/ of the turbulent river. Why then do my poor children never return to see their old mother?

When the fruits fall from the tree, they sprout and come up beside it. Why do my children, who sank down at my side, never rise again?

"The grains of rice send out shoots in the water of the rice fields, as do the kernels of maize in the fields surrounded by rocks. Then why do the children of poor mothers never grow up again out of their cold graves?"

114 The texts of these songs show that Abadie's statement (1),
●533

1. Page 169.

"The songs in the language of the Meau are always humorous and even erotic," corresponds as little to the facts as the report by Lajonquière (2): "Their songs are always erotic and almost

2. II, p. 312.

never depart from the following theme: the singer addresses a woman who is passing by, asks her what the news is, invites her to sit down beside him, becomes obtrusive. When she continues on her way, he scolds or mocks her."

539 To be sure, there are songs which have such a content:
832 "I have come to you in your house, and now you do not want to grant me your favors. Now I shall go to another house and there buy water for my money. The water there is colder than your's. When I drink it, I am happy, for then another girl loves me."

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Miao AE5

/142 cont./

M 539 832 A lover to whom favors were granted often sings of his luck in many successive sentences: "Now I have to leave your village, and whenever I remember your embraces, my soul will be happy. Now I must leave, but I shall think only of returning. My soul wanders in the clouds (meaning: you have bewitched me) and not on earth. And when I return and hold your hand, I shall not be able to stop the flow of words until the end of my life (meaning: he will take her as his wife for life). What are you going to give me then to fill my soul and to stop the flow of my words? (a clear allusion to the sexual act, the only moment when the lovers are silent). Whatever you give me I shall give back to you all my life long."

M ● 533 In these songs rhythm plays no role, and melody only a minor one. The words are produced in a high-pitched voice with wholly /143/ unrelated high notes. Even while traveling M [484] no rhythm is maintained and marching in our sense is unknown to these peoples. There is singing, however, on every occasion: upon setting out to hunt, in connection with the preparations for the caravan when it is necessary to look for new village sites, in connection with bringing in the harvest, and in connection with housework. Lajonquière (1) reports similarly on the Meau.

1. II, p. 311.

There are no professional singers or bards, and similarly no epics heroic songs, or war songs, which formerly, at least among the Meau, were probably present. In any case, however, they cannot be found today. On the other hand, I was able to A [533] find two melodies among the Meau and one among the Akha to which texts similar to our Alpine "ditties" are sung. Often, however, the performer only sings words which happen to come into his head.

M [171] The sound of the songs of the Meau is very reminiscent of the "joiken" of the Lapps (2), although in the case of the

2. Bernatzik, VI, pp. 78 ff.

A M 533 832 joiken there are no words. Alternate songs to which texts are

AKha AO4
Miao AE5

/143 cont./

A M 533 [832] [854] sung, such as the examples given above, are customary among the Akha as well as among the Meau, but always between the different sexes. During them they often hold hands for hours and look into each other's eyes. Solo singing, on the other hand, is done at every possible opportunity, for instance, when the mother rocks her baby to sleep, when the father carries his son around on his back.

A [535] [832] Polyphonic singing in our sense is unknown; unison-singing is practiced only by the Akha and exclusively by the girls during their wooing dances. Several girls always sing and dance simultaneously (Ill. 24)[1] and thereby attract the attention of the young men at the dancing places with their erotic songs. Songs or melodies are in no case borrowed from neighboring tribes.

A M [177] All these observations show that both tribes, but especially the Meau, are artistically talented in various directions, which has already been said in the section on "Art in the Life of the Children" (the chapter, "Life in the Community"). When Dhuraratsadorn (3) writes that "the Meau do not know any

M 114 533 538

3. Page 132.

stories or fairy tales, and have no /144/ special liking for singing or poetry, it can only be the result of some misunderstanding (see also the chapter, "Myths and Fairy Tales").

Musical Instruments

M 534 [533] That the Meau love music can be seen from their predilection for singing. Moreover, they have musical instruments and use gongs, rattles, and wind instruments. Their love of music is confirmed by Lajonquière (1), as well as by

1. II, p. 311.

M [237] [114] [171] Abadie (2). The latter also speaks of a small long-necked

2. Page 168.

1 [See card 116, p 124 - ANALYST]

/144 cont./

534 guitar with a body made of turtle shell which is covered with
[237] snail's skin /Schneckenhaut/, but I found such instruments
114 only among the neighboring Thai peoples, and not among the
[171] Meau.

All wind instruments are blown with the mouth, not with the nose, and, with the exception of the simple rod flute /Stabflöte/ (Figs. 24 and 25), are vibration instruments. The tone is produced by making a metal or wooden diaphragm vibrate. The mouth organ (Fig. 26) the characteristic instru-
171 ment, in a somewhat modified form, for almost all the peoples
●533 of Thailand, has been developed in its most ingenious and largest
534 form (Ill. 75)* among the Meau. It is regarded as a sacral in-
[778] strument (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section on "Cult and Taboo") whose tone is pleasing to the spirits. Usually many mouth organs are played simultaneously, and such mouth-organ concerts are altogether pleasing even to European ears and resound over many kilometers in the solitude
[562] of the mountains. Whereas among the Lahu, men as well as women play the mouth organ, this art is reserved exclusively for the men among the Meau, and among them the mouth organ, which is often made out of gourd shells among the other mountain tribes of Farther India, is carved carefully and solidly out of wood, usually mahogany, and is often mounted with silver.
534 The wooden body consists of two symmetrical halves, which are precisely fitted together and wound with bamboo strips, and the joints are smeared with buffalo fat. The holes for the pipes are burned into this wooden body, perpendicular to the joints, with a red-hot piece of metal, and, as the first pipe, the thickest one is inserted, the one /145/ identified as No. 6 in the drawing (Fig. 26). Pipe 5 is inserted next to pipe 6; its tone is a fourth lower. Pipe 3 follows, opposite No. 6, and is a fifth lower; then pipe 4, which is a fourth higher than pipe 3, then pipe 2, which is one octave lower than 6, and, finally, pipe 1, which is a seventh lower than 6.

* [See cat. 116, p 574 – ANALYST]

/145 cont./

534 For the manufacturing process, the length of the pipes, which, along with the diameter, determines the pitch, is always chosen so that their tone is somewhat lower than the one actually aimed for; finally the instrument is tuned by appropriately shortening the tubes. Each pipe is provided with a /Figs. 24-27 appear here/ blow hole that leads into the body of the mouth organ, and with a keyhole that is stopped with a finger. The tone is produced by stopping the keyhole and blowing into the pipe. In addition the vibration parts for the mouth organ are so constructed that the same tone is produced by blowing air in or by sucking it out. Not until the end of the process is the silver mouthpiece put on. The construction of this instrument makes it possible to breathe while playing. Thus, during the sacral dances one can play uninterruptedly. This is very
[535] important since the players always dance and play at the same time. The actual use of the instrument is best shown by the drawings and photographs. While the intervals between the individual pipe tones are fixed, the absolute pitch of the basic flute is left to the taste of the manufacturer; it also depends on the size of the instrument. Thus the mouth organs differ considerably from one another in basic pitch, but agree melodically. The use of the pitch pipe is not customary.

[533] /146/ Another instrument of the Meau, which is especially popular among lovers and is played by both sexes, is the jew's-harp (Fig. 27). It consists of a sheet of brass or bronze with a vibrating tongue in the middle. The jew's-harp is placed against the teeth and made to vibrate with the right thumb; the oral cavity acts as the sounding board (Ill. 77). 1/1

Furthermore, there are two kinds of flute. The simple rod flute (Ill. 76) 1/1 consists of a wooden or bamboo body and has six finger holes on the upper side and one on the under side tuned in major. /Figs. 28-29 appear here./ The hole on the under side is sometimes stopped. The simple construction of the flute is shown in the drawings (Fig. 24 and Fig. 25). Both sexes play this flute as well as the one described below.
[114] Lajonquière (1), too, mentions flutes and mouth organs. He
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533

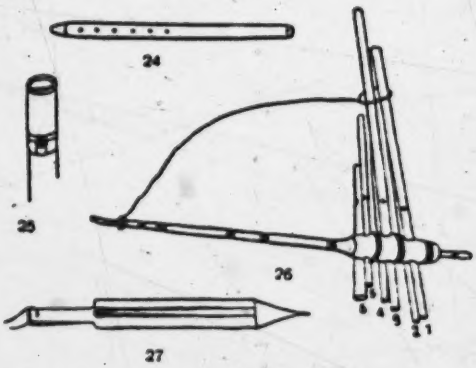
1. II, p. 311.

1/1 [see cat 116, p 574 - ANALYST]

/146 cont./

534 maintains, however, that their use is restricted to men. His [114] statement is very true concerning the mouth organ, but he errs [562] with regard to the flute, since I myself repeatedly saw Meau [533] women and girls playing it.

The vibration flutes (Figs. 28 and 29) of various sizes, which are played either as a rod flute or transverse flute, are used more commonly than the simple rod-flute. In addition to the blow hole, each flute has five finger holes burned into the upper side, in addition to one at the side that is stopped during the blowing. Accordingly, different tones are produced. As in the case of the mouth organs, the absolute pitch of the basic tone varies with the size of the instrument.



Figs. 24-27. Musical instruments of the Meau. Fig. 24, simple rod flute, 1/10 nat. size; Fig. 25, end-piece of the rod flute, with blow hole; Fig. 26, mouth organ. The wooden body is made of two symmetrical halves joined together and wound with bamboo strips. The six pipes are of bamboo, the mouthpiece of silver. About 1/11 nat. size. Fig. 27. Jew's-harp of brass or bronze, 1/3 nat. size.

[533] The six tones of the instrument, however, are accurately tuned in a simple minor scale. The construction of these flutes, like that of the mouth organs, is rather difficult, and there are only a few Meau who have mastered it. For example, in the area of the Meau villages [163] on the upper course of the Nam Fa, there was only one man who was skilled in this art and his flutes were used over a wide area. 533 Jew's-harps and flutes are popularly played by the guards in the [243] rice fields, who while away the time with them. Otherwise their sound is most commonly heard in the evening beside the hearth fire for the edification of the people.

/147/

534 [171] Sounding stones, sounding sticks, slit drums, xylophones of any kind, rattles, or whirring instruments are found just as little as stringed instruments, which play an important role among the Thai peoples living in the valley. Similarly there are no instruments that could be [202] used for communication over great distances. On the other [177] hand, hide drums, presumably of Chinese or Laotian origin, as well as small bronze gongs (Fig. 30), which, along with [752] rattles (Fig. 31) are used by the shamans, are occasionally [796] found. Both instruments, like the mouth organs, are ceremonial paraphernalia which are heard during the death and sacrificial ceremonies, /Figs. 30 and 31 appear here/ as well as at the spirit-questioning, the driving out of evil spirits, and, finally, during the New Year's celebration. Only the bronze gong also finds use as an alarm device.

[202]

Fig. 28-29.
Vibrating flute of the Meau. 1/9 nat. size. Fig. 28, from above, Fig. 29, side view and blow-hole.

● 533 Each class of the instruments named is always used by itself; combining different instruments into an orchestra is unknown. Every Meau has a mastery of all the instruments, even though not always as a virtuoso, but there are real masters among them, although no professional musicians.

231 534 177 Draft cattle and horses often have bells hanging on them. There are bamboo bells (Fig. 32), whose central piece of bamboo acts as the resonance chamber. To the left and right of it, in two fork-shaped pieces of bamboo, hang clappers of the same material, which strike the resonance

/147 cont./

M 534 231 177 piece when the animal moves. These bamboo bells presumably are of Laotian origin. Moreover, there are wooden bells (Fig. 33). In this case several wooden clappers in the body of the bell swing on a wooden stick stuck through it. In addition heavy thick-walled brass bells, presumably of Chinese origin, are used (Fig. 34); there are also little silver bells which are attached to the scratching pins (see the chapter, "Clothing and Ornaments," Figs. 226 and 227).

A M ● 533 The Akha, like the Meau, are very good at whistling with the /148/ lips, between the teeth, or with two fingers. Sometimes they also blow on grass blades or leaf strips which they

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M 534 [531]

Fig. 30. Bronze gong of the Meau, decorated with red and black cloth strips. 1/6 nat. size. The gong stick is made of wood wrapped with cloth.

Fig. 31. Magic rattle of the Meau. 1/6 nat. size. From two to 20 little iron plates differing in size are strung on an iron ring, and when the rattle is shaken by the handle, they make considerable noise.

A M 533 [224] hold between the thumbs. This technique is used especially in order to attract game (see the chapter, "Meaus of Subsistence," section on "Hunting"). /Figs. 32-35 appear here./ The bursting of large flowers and leaves, which is reminiscent of the similar amusement of European children, who use paper bags for it, is to be regarded more as play.

/213 cont./

123 262 [164] woman showed that she was suffering from hookworms, which could easily be cured.

I have already mentioned the taboo which comes into effect, in case of a death in a village, for the village community as well as for the mourners and especially for the family whose member has died. Food prohibitions are not tied in with death, but after the death of a woman, the children and the widower have to refrain from sexual intercourse for one year whereas after the death of the husband, widows are subject to this commandment for only one week.

784 765 [262] [834]

834 846 Marabail (1) reports of the Meau in Tonkin that after the birth of a child the parents may not have sexual intercourse with each other.

1. Page 451.

835 The incest taboo is observed very strictly among the Meau in Thailand. It is forbidden for young blood-relatives of the opposite sex to stand together or to look or smile at each other. Since, as I stated earlier, any Meau man to whom a girl offers a glass of alcohol views this, according to custom, as an invitation, it is strictly forbidden for girls /214/ to serve alcohol or even to drink to men against whom the marriage prohibition applies for them.

[273] [832]

533 461 784 [626] In the fields of the so musically inclined Meau, one does not hear singing during the work or during rests, because this would violate a taboo. It is believed to be certain that non-observance would bring a misfortune, that one of the workers would be hurt, either by a tool or by part of a falling tree.

784 [177] Just as the Meau in their cult practices do not in general want to borrow anything from the pertinent customs of the other peoples living around them, so are the many prohibitions of the Chinese unknown to them or ignored. On the other hand great significance is attached to every native taboo. Every taboo is in force for the entire life of the individual as well as for the whole tribe; the only exceptions are taboos that are limited in time, which are automatically lifted after the

[756]

/283 cont./

M 243 342

Fig. 88 (below). Rice-field hut of the Meau, sketch.
Key to symbols:

J = roof truss of bamboo, leaves of the fan palm as covering

K = roof rider of wood

L = walls of beaten tree-bark or split bamboo, fastened together by means of crossbeams.

/text continued/

the necessary comforts. Since they are often occupied for several weeks, the necessary household furnishings are likewise not lacking in them. Besides the agricultural implements, one sees crossbows, guns, quivers with arrows, powder horns, traps, and the like stored along the walls. Outside the hut one also often finds small windscreens made of palm leaves or rice straw (Ill. 104), which serve as additional sleeping places, as well as open granaries for the rice straw, large mats on which the grain is threshed, and a rice pounder. Chicken baskets lie stacked up, for at harvest time the fowl are brought from the village to pick up the scattered kernels, for the Meau take great pains to see to it that no kernel goes to waste.

M [353] M [513] M [231]

Since the field work is primarily a duty for the growing youth, and they, removed from the authority of the village community, feel freer and more undisturbed, a gayer life always prevails up in the rice-field huts, and the work is amply interrupted by laughter and jesting. Even beyond the periods of field work, when the huts stand unused, they are happily sought out by young people as love nests. Up here they are disturbed by no one, and the quiet nights on the lonely mountain tops undoubtedly do not lack strong romanticism, as is shown by love songs which have the little rice-field huts as their scene of action.

M 883 [243] M [836] [533]

The Akha, too, are seminomads who move their residence when the cultivable soil around the old village is exhausted. What has been said about the migrations of the Meau at the beginning of this chapter also applies to them. The decision to move the village, however, is made among the Akha by the

A 361 166 [241] [623]